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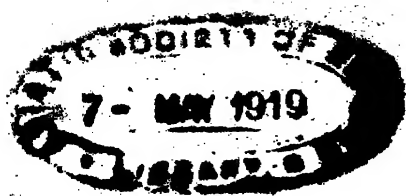
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THE BOOK
OF
DUARTE BARBOSA.

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THE BOOK OF DUARTE BARBOSA.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRIES
BORDERING ON THE INDIAN OCEAN AND THEIR
INHABITANTS, WRITTEN BY DUARTE BARBOSA,
AND COMPLETED ABOUT THE YEAR 1518 A.D.

*Translated from the Portuguese text, first published in 1812 A.D.
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Collection of Documents regarding the History and Geography of
the Nations beyond the seas, and edited and annotated*

BY

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INCLUDING THE COASTS OF EAST AFRICA, ARABIA,
PERSIA, AND WESTERN INDIA AS FAR AS
THE KINGDOM OF VIJAYANAGAR.

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INTRODUCTION.



THE author of this book was a Portuguese official named Duarte Barbosa, who, as will be shown below, was in the service of the Portuguese Government in India from about 1500 till about 1516 or 1517. His work was long known only through the Italian version of it included by Ramusio in his great collection of voyages entitled *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, first published at Venice in 1563. A Portuguese MS. was found at Lisbon in the early part of the nineteenth century, of which an account is given in the introduction of the Portuguese editors to their edition published in 1813, and manuscripts of a Spanish version exist at Barcelona and Munich, from the former of which the first English translation, that by Lord Stanley, issued by the Hakluyt Society in 1865, was made.

The present version is an entirely new translation from the Portuguese text of 1813.

Before considering the book and its value as one of the earliest records made by the Portuguese within a few years of their entry into the Indian Ocean, a short account of the author's life will be of use as showing his opportunities of observation, of which he made such good use in this Itinerary.

1. *Duarte Barbosa's first journey to India.*—Duarte Barbosa was the son of Diogo Barbosa, a man of good but not of noble family, who was in the service of the Dukes of Bragança, and was especially attached to the interests of the Duke's brother Dom Alvaro. Diogo Barbosa had a brother named Gonçalo Gil Barbosa, who went to India in 1500 A.D. with the fleet of Pedro Alvarez Cabral, by whom he was left at Cochin as *feitor* or Agent when his fleet set sail for Portugal.¹ Diogo Barbosa himself sailed in 1501 with the fleet commanded by the Gallician João da Nova, but in what capacity is not certain. De Barros says that he went as captain of one of the four ships of which the fleet consisted, which ship belonged to Dom Alvaro de Bragança, his lord, and was fitted out by him,² and further, that when João da Nova was about to return to Portugal he left certain persons at Cananor "with the name of *feitor*," some of whom were not officials of the King, but trade agents for private persons, and one of these named Payo Rodriguez was appointed by Diogo Barbosa as *feitor* for Dom Alvaro.³ João da Nova went on thence to Cochin, and left several men with Gonçalo Gil Barbosa, who must have met his brother on this occasion. Duarte Barbosa may have accompanied his uncle on the first voyage mentioned above, or his father on the second.

From internal evidence it is most probable that he sailed with Pedro Alvarez Cabral and not with João da Nova. On the East coast of Africa the former touched at Sofala, Mozambique, Kilwa, Mombasa, Melindi, Magadoxo, followed by the Isle of Socotra, the entrance to the Red Sea, Hurmuz and the Persian

¹ De Barros, I, v, Ch. 8, f. 100 b.

² L.c. Ch. 10, f. 105.

³ L.c. Ch. 10, f. 107.

Gulf (as to which the author of the *Navegação de Pedro Alvarez Cabral: Collecção de Noticias Ultramarinas*, 1813, Vol. II, says "everything described in this chapter was observed by us"), and finally reached India at Goga in the Gulf of Cambay. This corresponds very fully with the places described in detail by Barbosa, who probably would have had no other opportunity of visiting many of them. João da Nova appears to have visited only Mozambique, Kilwa and Melindi in Africa, and thence to have struck across the Arabian Sea to South India, touching first at the Isles of S. Maria near Baticala.

Duarte Barbosa then remained with his uncle at Cochin.

Correa's account is different.¹ He says "In the ship of the Captain in-Chief went Alvaro da Braga as *feitor* of Çofala with Diogo Barbosa as writer, with twenty-two men." This Alvaro de Braga is probably intended for Alvaro de Bragança, but the account given by De Barros is by far the most intelligible. Correa is not the best authority except as to events of which he had personal knowledge.

In the following year, 1502, on Vasco da Gama's second voyage to India he brought out with him as *feitor* of Cochin Diogo Correa, and transferred Gonçalo Gil Barbosa as *feitor* to Cananor, where a factory with full royal authority was now established.² This is stated both by De Barros and Correa.³ The latter in this part of his narrative changes the name Gonçalo Gil into Gil Fernandes, but later on under the year 1505⁴ he reverts to Gonçalo Gil, which undoubtedly is correct: Castanheda calls him Gonçalo.

Correa, I, p. 235.

Correa, I, 335.

³ De Barros, I, vi, Ch. 7, f. 124 b.

⁴ Correa, I, 582.

2. *Barbosa's Linguistic Acquirements.*—In narrating his appointment as *feitor* at Cananor in 1502 Correa adds "This Gil Fernandes had a nephew named Duarte Barbosa, who being with him at Cochin learnt the tongue of the Malabares" (*i.e.* Malayālam) "so well, that he spoke it better than the natives of the country." It is clear from this that Duarte Barbosa had been with his uncle at Cochin before his transfer to Cananor, and it is most probable that he came out with him in Cabral's fleet of 1500. Cananor comes within the limit of the Malayālam tongue, so Duarte Barbosa's mastery of that language, which he began to acquire at Cochin, could be developed there. Correa himself did not come to India till 1512, when Duarte Barbosa's fame as a linguist, perhaps unique among the Portuguese of that early period, was well established. In 1503 he was at Cananor when the fleet of "the Alboquerques" came to India, and he acted as interpreter for D. Fransisco D'Albuquerque on his visit to the King of Cananor on that occasion.¹

Correa had a high opinion of him, not only as a linguist but as a writer on the countries and peoples of the East. He excuses himself for giving no details on these subjects, and finishes with this sentence:

"For my intention is to write nought regarding these lands and their customs as there are certain persons who have already done so, of whom one was Duarte Barbosa, nephew of the *feitor* Gil Fernandes Barbosa, who has composed a treatise, which I have seen, of all the lands, peoples, laws, customs, and dealings from the Lequeos following the whole sea as far as the Cape of Good Hope."²

¹ Correa, I, 379.

² Correa, I, 357.

This is an exact description of the scope of the present work, the order being reversed, and is a good piece of contemporary evidence that Duarte Barbosa was its author, notwithstanding statements by modern writers that its ascription to him rests on the authority of Ramusio alone (see for instance Dr. Burnell's *List of Books on the History of Portuguese India*, Mangalore, 1880).

Another similar statement is made by Correa in the preface to his work headed "Aos Senhores Letores," at the conclusion of which he says :

"And, inasmuch as I have taken up this labour under no temptation of greed, vainglory or envy, but solely to satisfy my own wishes and to fulfil my own desires, and shall write nought concerning the lands, peoples and trade, as there are several who have occupied themselves therewith, of which I have seen certain volumes and especially a book on these matters composed by Duarte Barbosa, writer of the Cananor factory ; therefore I shall labour only to write very fully the noble deeds wrought by our Portuguese, militant in these parts of India, both great and small."¹

It may be noted that in Lord Stanley's translation (*Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, Hak. Soc., 1869, p. 5, note 2) this passage is wrongly rendered as stating that Duarte Barbosa "wrote of the factory of Cananor," and not that he was "*writer* of the factory," and this gives a wrong impression as to the scope of his book. In the note alluded to Lord Stanley also mentions a passage of De Goes alluding to a similar work by Duarte Barbosa, which seems to be identical with

¹ Correa, pp. 2, 3.

that quoted above from Correa, and is probably borrowed from it.

3. *Barbosa's Letter to the King of Portugal in 1513.*—In the appendix to his volume from Correa, Lord Stanley prints with all abbreviations a letter from Duarte Barbosa to the King D. Manoel I, and as it was not translated, and it throws some light on Barbosa's position, I give it here in full.

TRANSLATION OF DUARTE BARBOSA'S LETTER TO DOM
MANOEL, WRITTEN AS ESCRIVÃO OF CANANOR ON
JANUARY 12TH, 1513.

SIRE,—In addition to the obligation under which I lie in virtue of the office of writer, which I hold by your Highness's Grace, my inclination is to speak the truth in those matters chiefly which concern your service, and it appears to me that God would show me no mercy if I wrote not plainly to your Highness as to the affairs of Cananor, these being what I know clearly as well by the language as by the knowledge acquired when I was here before ; the acts, customs, and trade agreed to by the Admiral,¹ and confirmed by the other Captains-in-Chief up till now, which we are bound to observe towards the King and people of this land ; that is, in accordance with your rules and commands, to keep complete faith with them and to preserve with them true peace, which matters have been to a certain degree infringed, as your Highness will learn from the Ambassadors and letters of the King of Cananor.

I arrived here in the year 1511 with D. Ayres,² while the Captain-in-Chief was at Malaca, having left Diogo Correa as Captain in this fortress, who by his tyranny, jealousy and harsh disposition almost caused the people of the country to rise against him, despising them and threatening them with the Captain-in-Chief, and desiring to take sides with one village³ against another *valya*,⁴ and also against the Governor. I remind Your Highness that the trade of Calcut was lost through Ayres Correa desiring to have the sifting done by Coja Beguy. It is well that those who serve your Highness

¹ *i.e.*, Vasco da Gama.

² *i.e.*, D. Ayres da Gama, brother of Vasco da Gama, who arrived at Cananor in August, 1511 (Correa, II, 197).

³ Reading *povoação* for *pocar acem*.

⁴ Perhaps *valya* stands for *vilaya*, Ar. a province or district.

should be favoured, and not that they should be made to do what they ought not to do against the King of their land, for they are his vassals, as he is vassal of your Highness, and this is what troubles him most. I say nothing in detail as to many things concerning Diogo Correa, which are worthy of severe punishment, as he now lies where the Lord have mercy on his soul.¹

Gonzalo Mendez Feitor and Pedro Homem were here, and as on account of certain auspicious utterances of your Highness, they desired to preserve and sustain the peace of this people, he forbade them to go to Cananor and to walk among the people, and embroiled them with the Captain-in-Chief, who always believed in his wickednesses and held them to be virtues, following the bad account he gave regarding them to the king of the land and the Governor and people thereof; as to which things let your Highness ask João Serrão who knows something of this, for to relate them in detail would be a business without end.

And the King of the land was on the point of breaking away entirely from the Captain-in-Chief on account of the oppression of his Governor, and also regarding a number of horses which he took from him by force without paying for them, and compelled the Wazir (*alguazil*) to pay his masters for some of them, threatening to put him in irons if he did not do so. I know this well, for I was a whole day with the King, telling him from your Highness that if he was in any way aggrieved he should make it known to your Highness, whereupon everything would be made right with all peace and love towards him, on which he said that he would rather lose his land altogether, since they did him such violence as he could not endure; and that he wanted nothing from us, neither ports nor sea-trade, not giving nor taking with us, and that he wished to live away from the coast and maintain himself on the fruits of the land, since we robbed him of his land and used such constraint against him. I disputed with him with mild words until at last he told me that having taken much counsel he was willing to endure everything until your Highness knew of it, and to this intent, he sends thither these men with certain services of jewels, and with letters and messages by the hand of João Serrão.

This year we had at this factory for the cargoes of these ships four thousand *quintals* of ginger, almost all on credit, which the King ordered to be given to us, and we have gone on paying for it little by little. If we had had goods to give

¹ The death of Diogo Correa is alluded to under the events of September, 1512, by Correa (II, 305). He was killed in a battle near Goa.

in exchange it seems to me we might have had six or seven thousand *quintals*, but, as we had no goods with which to pay, we reached the price of a hundred *fedecas*¹ the *bahār* and last year we had to take it at 120 *fedecas* the *bahār*; and now they tell us that they will make us take up to six thousand *quintals*, and pay in goods or some other thing at once. I we have these I believe we can bring the price down to eighty *fedecas* the *bahār*; for Jorge de Mello has² now, with his pleasant words and disposition, made them well-disposed, and drawn them out of the evil thoughts which possessed them, for since he has been here many Moors and Heathen of good estate come to this fortress; whereas for two years past they neither came in nor dealt with us. (See also *Commentaries*, III, 207, 208, where his full name is given as Jorge de Mello Perreira. The date of his arrival is given as August 20th, 1512.) This is the fruit of the tree planted by your Highness's hand.

Let your Highness give orders to relieve this factory with goods in abundance, and in especial order them to discharge cargo here, for all ships pass on to Cochim and leave us nothing here, nor are they willing to stay here three days, even though they come very early, they think of nothing but numbers of *quintals*, and this year they missed four or five Meca ships which had come to Calecud, because they were unwilling to wait here, and we gave them information of this, for we knew for certain that those ships had come. Last year twelve or thirteen ships laden with spices passed to Meca and Adem, and this year as many are getting ready. May God amend this, since your Highness is not willing to do so, for it would be better to stop the passing of these spices than to remain at Goa wasting whatever your factories possess on the armed bands of the country, with seven or eight hundred men and four or five ships, besides as many caravels and galleys; paying more on weddings of men to prevent their turning Moors than Goa has as yet brought in or ever will bring in.

There the Captain-in-Chief keeps all his establishments, forgetting your old established factories, where are to be found all cargoes needed for the ships, for the foundation of which your Highness ordered the discovery of India, and thus too,

¹ The abbreviation $\frac{7}{8}$ was read by Lord Stanley as *sarasolas*, but the *sarasola* was a weight, a fraction (from $\frac{1}{16}$ th to $\frac{1}{8}$ th) of a *bahār*, and could not denote the price. The coin denoted is no doubt the *fedea*, perhaps about 5d. at this period. (See p. 156, n. 2.)

² Correa, II, 302, says that in September, 1512, Jorge de Mello took over the appointment of Captain of the fortress of Cananor from Diogo Correa, who left for Goa in the same ship which brought his successor.

he spends in money and food for the *Canaris* of the land as much as would suffice for the factories here, while the Portuguese here go about without receiving payment of their wages. Oft-times, too, Coja Beguy is here and devours daily the value of a *crusado* in food, from which there is no profit.¹

They have sent to your Highness an ambassador who says he is from the Preste Joam, and sent orders from Goa to these fortresses to give him great presents and entertainments, (which were made for him), saying that he had brought the wood of the Holy and True Cross. With him he brought a woman of the land of the Preste Joam, and a youth; asserting that the woman was his wife and daughter of a great lord, and the youth a near relative of the king, and that he himself was the Chief Ambassador. Here the woman revealed that he was a Moor and came from Cayro as a spy, that he had bought the youth, and that she had been stolen by him and was not his wife; for the Abyssinians are black and are branded on the forehead, while this man is fair and does not know the language of the Preste's country. She demanded of Captain Jorge de Mello before all the officials of this fortress that he should turn the man out of it, and inasmuch as he was a Moor, and considering the falsehoods with which he came, the Captain sends him as he arrived to your Highness, with a clear statement of what is known here, and Gaspar Pereyra also writes it to your Highness.²

I brought with me an appointment from your Highness to the first writer's desk which should fall vacant at Cananor. This was furnished by the death of Joam D'Avila, and Duarte Frêz came this year with an appointment to Joam D'Avila's desk with the surety of the ships of the country, and Pedro Mem for *feitor*. According to your Highness's intention I remained first writer as was Pedro Mem; as Duarte Frêz³ brought a nomination to the desk of J. D'Avila. The Captain-in-Chief understood it as he pleased and appointed Duarte Frêz first writer with the securities that he holds, 70,000 reis and the greater part of the duties on ginger and drugs, and as I work better than any official at the language, I remain now with 50,000 dry reis;⁴ wherefore I shall kiss the hands of your Highness to order me to be tested with justice, and to enjoy the time I have to live and serve as first writer, since Duarte

¹ Coja Beguy was a Musalman of Calcut, who was often employed by Alboquerque. The true form of this name is Khwāja Beg.

² For this embassy from Abyssinia see *Commentaries*, III, 250-252.

³ The names Frêz and Mem are contractions of which the full forms have not been traced.

⁴ i.e., his salary only, without any commissions or perquisites.

Frêz has been appointed to the post of J° Davila ; and this would be a great favour to me.

Done at Cananor, the XII of January, 1513.

D^{TE} BARBOSA.

From this letter two or three points become apparent. The first is that Duarte Barbosa had received the promise of an appointment to the post of head-writer when there was a vacancy, that he had not obtained it, but that the appointment had been given to another man, and that he begged the King to do him justice. He also asserts that he was admitted to have the best knowledge of the language and the people, and complains of the oppression and bad management of Diogo Correa, who had been left in charge at Cananor during Alboquerque's absence on the Malacca expedition. He also gives an interesting account of his interviews with the Raja of Cananor and the difficulty he had in preventing him from turning against the Portuguese.

4. *Relations with A. D'Alboquerque.*—It is clear that he belonged to the party opposed to the occupation and development of Goa, which he considered were carried out at the expense of the older Portuguese settlements Cochin and Cananor ; while as between the two latter Cananor was unduly neglected in favour of the more southerly port. It is possible to read between the lines and to realise that the lack of promotion was due to his failure to adopt Alboquerque's plans with heartiness. Whether he ever obtained the highest rank may be doubted. He is called *escrivão*, or "writer," by Correa, but evidently there were upper and lower grades in the service. Yet Alboquerque knew his value and made use of him as a skilled official. He has himself related how he

employed him as his interpreter in his pious endeavours to convert the King of Cochin, which the King, Dom Manoel, had himself advised. These, as might have been anticipated, ended in failure; a scene not without its comic aspect.¹ Alboquerque's account of his attempt to convert the King of Cochin is given in his letter No. 100 to the King, Dom Manoel I, dated December 20th, 1514, apparently the last letter despatched from India by him before his departure for Hurmuz, which took place on February 21st, 1515.

It is evident that instructions to convert the King of Cochin had been sent out by Dom Manoel. Apparently it was thought that, as he owed much to the Portuguese, and without their assistance would probably have lost his kingdom, he might easily be induced to adopt the Christian religion. Duarte Barbosa was called in no doubt as the only responsible person who could be relied on to interpret correctly. Alboquerque says:—

“I spoke to the King of Cochim as to his becoming a Christian as Your Highness directed me. Duarte Barbosa was there as interpreter, and Pero D'Alpoem and I; and I informed him of all the words of the letter and other reasons to the best of my feeble knowledge, although these were not so well suited as those of Garcia Moniz to turn a heathen man to the faith of Our Lord. After having told him of the love and good-will with which Your Highness appealed (*chamava*) for his salvation . . . as he well knew. He replied that to him this appeared something new, that Your Highness had given him many directions but had never touched on this subject. I then

¹ *Carlos D'Albuquerque*, p. 367.

showed him Your Highness' letter, and asked him if he had read the letters which had come to him this year. He said that he had not yet read them, and then he said that this piece of Malabar land had been placed here by our Lord below the mountains, and that He wished that all the people thereof should remain heathen and live according to their own customs."

He then gives the arguments he employed and the King's answers in some detail. At last the King said that even if he was willing to become a Christian his people would not suffer it. Albuquerque then reminded him that he owed his position to Portuguese support. He admitted this, but asked for time to consider the matter as it was of great importance. To this Albuquerque agreed. He adds, "He is a little offended (*picado*) about the peace with Calicut and afraid (*receoso*) of the other King" [*i.e.* of his old enemy the King of Calicut]. Albuquerque then asked the King at least to make over the Prince to him to be brought up as a Christian, and he replied that he would consider it. Here the matter seems to have ended, and was no doubt put aside during the preparations for the Hurmuz expedition. Duarte Barbosa probably appreciated better than Dom Manoel, or even Albuquerque, the disorganisation which would have been caused by the sudden conversion of the Raja of an orthodox Hindu State.

Albuquerque also in 1515 sent Duarte Barbosa to Calicut to superintend the construction of two large galleys which the merchants of that place had offered to build for him in exchange for certain trading concessions.¹ These galleys were to be used for the

¹ *Commentaries*, IV, 130.

Red Sea expedition which he proposed to conduct after visiting Hurmuz. He did not live to carry out his plans, and they ended disastrously under the incompetent leadership of his successor Lopo Soares D'Albergaria. He kept the galleys in mind, however, and wrote in August, 1515, from Hurmuz to Duarte Barbosa to see that they were finished and got ready.¹ It is probable that Barbosa himself accompanied the galleys when they were ready for use, as he distinctly states in § 24 that he was present at the taking of Zeila in August, 1516, according to De Barros, but a year later according to his own statement and that of Correa. He probably landed at Hurmuz on his way and heard details of recent events on the spot, for his account of these occurrences shows local knowledge.

5. *Date of Return to Portugal.*—Barbosa evidently returned to Portugal soon afterwards, and probably finished the manuscript of his book, or at any rate added some notes to it, during 1517-18. The date 1516 which is given in his preface (found only in Ramusio) may have been given in the first copy which served as the original of the Italian version, and also of the Spanish manuscript translated by Lord Stanley. The note regarding the destruction of Berbera by Antonio de Saldanha in 1518 was probably added to a copy of the manuscript in Lisbon, which was left in that city after his departure to join his father at Seville in 1518 or 1519.²

6. *Reasons for leaving Portugal and joining Magalhães.*—Had Duarte Barbosa received the promotion he thought due to him he probably would not have returned to Europe at this time. As it was, he joined

¹ *Commentaries*, IV, 179.

² See Note I, p. li. *infra*.

the body of dissatisfied and disappointed men who were gathering in the Southern capital of Spain, among whom the chief was Fernão de Magalhães, who had already married Beatriz Barbosa, daughter of Diogo and sister of Duarte Barbosa. Diogo Barbosa had returned from India in 1502 with João da Nova's fleet and had followed his patron Dom Alvaro de Bragança, who had gone into exile at Seville, and held the appointment of Alcalde Mayor of that capital. Through him Diogo Barbosa obtained the governorship of the Castle of Seville (De Barros, *III*, v, f. 147, 1563).

There seems to have been some relationship between the Barbosa family and Magalhães already,¹ and this had been strengthened by the marriage. Everything therefore led to a close association between the brothers-in-law. Barbosa joined Magalhães in his great enterprise and sailed with him from San Lucar de Barrameda at the mouth of the Guadalquivir on September 20th 1519. João Serrão, who commanded the *Santiago* in this expedition, was an Indian friend of Duarte Barbosa, and it is worthy of note that it was by him that the letter quoted above was taken to the King of Portugal, and that the messengers from the Raja of Cananor also went with him to Portugal. It need not be supposed however that discontent was Barbosa's sole motive for joining his brother-in-law's expedition. He was evidently a man who took intense interest in studying the geography and races of the world. How far East he had himself gone it is impossible to state, but he had collected in his book all that was

¹ De Barros, *l.c.* See also the discussion on the whole subject in Guillemard's *Life of Magellan*, pp. 87-90; and the genealogical trees in do. Appendix I.

known to the Portuguese as far as the Liu-Kiu Islands, and the temptation in taking part in such an adventure as that of Magalhães must have been irresistible to him. His insatiable desire for information got him into trouble at times, even with his relation, for we find from the pay list of the fleet that he was put under arrest by the Captain-General because he went away with the natives at St. Lucia Bay, and again in Sebu he was absent from his ship for three days contrary to the orders of the Admiral.¹ In spite of these derelictions, however, it is evident that he was the mainstay of Magalhães at the most critical point of his voyage, the mutiny at Porto de São Julião on April 2nd, 1520. He commanded the boat from the *Trinidad* which took the *Victoria* after Mendoza had been killed, and afterwards became Captain of this ship, a post which he seems to have retained till his death. He certainly held it on the 20th November of the same year, for De Barros has recorded from documents in his own possession, the order made by Magalhães on that day and the reply to it by the Astrologer Andres de Sam Martim. This order is addressed "To you Duarte Barbosa, Captain of the Ship *Victoria*, and to the pilots, masters and boat-swains thereof," and De Barros remarks (being unfriendly towards Magalhães) that after the desertion of the *St. Antonio* "he was left without any other support than that of Duarte Barbosa and a few others," the others no doubt including João Serrão. The opinion of Duarte Barbosa is not recorded by De Barros, probably because he did not support the opposition to Magalhães.

For the full text see De Barros, *Dec. III*, Ed. 1563.

¹ Guillemard, *Life of Magellan*, p. 265, N.

Bk. v, ch. 8, f. 149 b, ff. De Barros promises to relate further on how these papers came into his possession but does not seem to have done so. See also Guillemard, *Life of Magellan*, p. 203.

7. *Death of Duarte Barbosa*.—After the death of Magalhães at the Isle of Mactan, near the Isle of Sebu in the Philippines, on April 21st, 1521, Duarte Barbosa and João Serrão were, according to Pigafetta, elected as joint Governors of the expedition. There does not seem any probability in the theory that Duarte Barbosa had been deprived of his command (see Dr. Guillemard's note, *Life of Magellan*, p. 265). The officers chosen to command the expedition were evidently the Captains of the *Victoria* and *Concepcion*. Barbosa tried without result to recover possession of the body of Magalhães. He then tried to make use of the slave Enrique who came from Malacca and had been acting as interpreter, but he was unwilling to obey. Pigafetta and others say that Barbosa threatened him with a flogging, and told him that he would take him back to Portugal as a slave to Doña Beatriz, widow of Magalhães.² (Some authorities attribute this threat to João Serrão.) There seems some probability that this action led the slave to suggest, or at any rate to assist, in the treacherous actions which followed.

It is certain that the King of Sebu, who had been friendly in appearance to the Spaniards, and had obtained their help against his enemies, now made up his mind to turn against them. His supposed conversion to Christianity meant of course nothing to him, and finding that the newcomers were not, as he had imagined, invincible, he took the course which was to be expected. In any case Duarte Barbosa, João

¹ Appendix, p. lxxiii., *infra*.

² Appendix, p. lxxvi. *infra*.

Serrão, Andres de São Martim and many others were invited to land and receive a present for the King of Spain on May 1st, 1521. They were surrounded and massacred (as some say poisoned), with the exception of the pilot João Carvalho (Giovann Carnai in Pigafetta's narrative) and Espinosa the Alguacil, who escaped and got back to the ship. Nothing was heard of Duarte Barbosa, but João Serrão was brought down wounded to the beach by the natives, who were apparently willing to give him up on consideration of receiving a supply of arms and ammunition. Whether this was so or not, Serrão was abandoned by Carvalho, on whom the suspicion rests of having acted thus in order to obtain the command. Pigafetta, who had not been with the landing party, and was on the ships, is the principal authority for this.¹ Carvalho obtained the command but was soon after deposed from it for unworthiness.

In this way died Duarte Barbosa a few days after his great leader. Had he survived he would no doubt have left a full account of the whole expedition and of the places visited and the races encountered, fuller and more accurate than any that exists.

8. *The Second Duarte Barbosa*.—A statement made in the Fourth Decade of De Barros under the year 1529 regarding a certain Duarte Barbosa is not easy to explain.² Nuno da Cunha the Governor was conducting certain negotiations with the King of Calicut, and his reply, the historian relates, the Nair messengers 'had written down in note-books, which Nuno da

¹ Guillemard, *Life of Magellan*, p. 265-67.

² This is the statement alluded to in the Portuguese Editors' introduction as having been "inadvertently" made by the Abbé Barbosa in the *Bibliotheca Lusitana*. *Infra*, p. 1. He had, however, the authority of De Barros, or rather of the editor of the fourth Decade.

Cunha sent to Diogo da Silveira with a message to Duarte Barbosa, Escrivão of the Factory of Cananor, that he should go to Diogo da Silveira in order to take part in this negotiation with him, as he was well acquainted with the manners and customs of the Malabares, and had a good knowledge of the language." (*Dec. IV*, Bk v, ch. 3, p. 199.)

If this statement can be accepted as correct, we are confronted with the fact that eight years after our Duarte Barbosa's death, and eleven or twelve years after he had left India, there was another man of the same name, holding the same appointment at Cananor, and with the same reputation for a knowledge of the the people of Malabar and the Malayālam language. This is nearly incredible, and it is more probable that the name and qualifications of the former Escrivão found their way by some blunder into the narratives used by De Barros, or the compiler of *Dec. IV*. Correa and Castanheda, both of whom knew India well, do not mention the name Duarte Barbosa in connection with these events in 1529. Correa, as has been seen, knew Duarte Barbosa and his work, and Castanheda who had just arrived in India (*i.e.* in 1528) had already (under the events of 1521) alluded to Duarte Barbosa's death in the Philippines, so if there had been such a coincidence it could hardly have escaped the notice of these two historians.

Another alternative is the still more improbable one that the Duarte Barbosa who was brother-in-law of Magalhães and accompanied him on his expedition was not our author, but a totally distinct person, and that the latter continued to act as *escrivão* at Cananor long after his namesake's death. I do not think that this theory deserves consideration. In

addition to other obvious reasons the close connection with João Serrão, proved by the letter of 1513 above quoted, is alone sufficient to show that it is untenable. The statement of De Barros, or of Lavanha, the editor, must therefore in my opinion be dismissed as obviously incorrect.

9. *The Portuguese and other Versions of this Work.*—The present work was probably compiled from notes made during the late years of Barbosa's Indian career, and added to during his voyage to Portugal. There is no reason for doubting the genuineness of the preface prefixed to Ramusio's Italian version of the book. It is not the sort of document which Ramusio would have invented. There are certainly many alterations and additions to the Portuguese text in the Italian version, but these appear to be of the nature of marginal notes, which have been incorporated in the body of the work by copyists, and are not deliberate inventions. They are all amplifications of the original statements based either on later knowledge, or explanations or moral reflections of no great importance. In some cases the annotator or copyist blunders in his attempts at explanation, as in the case of the supposed burning down of the city of Vijayanagar by the King whenever he started on an expedition (p. 225, note 1). Barbosa had stated that the King's camps were laid out in rows of grass huts, like a city; and when he left one of these camps and marched to another it was burnt down. The copyist transferred this remark to the City of Vijayanagar. This and other alterations found in Ramusio are also for the most part found in the Spanish version translated by Lord Stanley, and some slightly altered copy of this version must have been used by Ramusio. He, however, does

not give the distances in leagues along the sea-coast from one port to another, which are given in the Spanish version. These are purely imaginary distances, with no relation to reality, and were evidently the invention of someone absolutely unacquainted with the facts. For instance, the distance from Diul to Patemxy, the first port reached in the Kāthiāwār peninsula (probably Verāwal), is given as only thirty-seven leagues; that from Verāwal to Mangrol at fifteen, and that from Mangrol to Diu at fifty. The actual distances measured directly on the map are approximately 250 miles, 40 miles and 55 miles; and the same want of reality holds throughout. Another kind of blunder occurs in both these versions through a misunderstanding of the Portuguese original, as for instance where Barbosa, after relating how certain Hindus (evidently Jains) would buy the lives of animals from the Muhammadans for large sums, or would pay the *faqirs* to prevent their injuring themselves, through which means they were a great source of profit to the Muhammadans, adds sarcastically "Thus they are much esteemed by the Moors." This has been turned into, "So that they are very ill-treated by the Moors"; the import of the phrase being entirely lost. Another instance which may be mentioned is in the description given by Barbosa of the practice of extending the aperture in the lobe of the ear, until it is "large enough for an egg to pass through it." This has been converted into a statement that the *ear-rings* were large enough for an egg to pass through them.

In § 60, Barbosa, on arriving at the estuary of the Tāpti river, describes the crossing from Randēr on the north bank to Sūrat on the south side of the river.

This is converted in the Spanish version (here not followed by Ramusio) into the following mis-statement, "Having passed this river of Ravel, at twenty leagues to the south, is a city called Surat at the mouth of a river." Here the Tāpti is made into two rivers twenty leagues apart.

Ramusio corrects some of the more obvious errors of the Spanish version, as will be observed in the case just quoted, and was evidently aware that the distances between the ports therein given were of no value.

10. *Relation between this Work and the Second Borgia Map of 1529.*—A comparison of these versions, especially the Spanish, with the map of the world drawn up by Diego Ribero in 1529 to illustrate the partition of the newly discovered regions of the world between Spain and Portugal in 1524 shows a very intimate connection, and leads to the inference that a translation of a manuscript of Barbosa's work was made for the use of the Badajoz Junta, and possibly that alterations and additions were made at the same time. This map is preserved at Rome in the Museum of the Propaganda. It has been reproduced in facsimile by Mr. W. Griggs, having been lent for the purpose by Pope Leo XIII, and is generally known as the second Borgia map (the part of this map relating to Africa is reproduced in Dr. Keltie's *Partition of Africa*, 1893). The names are all given in the Spanish form and the legends are in that language.¹ The superscription is as follows :

Carta universal en que se contiene todo lo
que del mundo se ha descubierto fasta agora.

¹ The portion of the map corresponding with Barbosa's work has been reproduced for this edition.

Hizola Diego Ribero cosmographo de Su magestad :
Año de 1529. En Sevilla.

and below the map as follows :

La qual se divide en dos partes conforme A la capitalacion que Hizieron los catholicos Reyes de espāna y elrey Don Juan de Portugual en Tordesillas : Año : de 1494 :

That is to say :

“ Universal map in which is contained every-thing that has been discovered in the world up till now. Made by Diego Ribero, Cosmographer to His Majesty, in the year 1529, at Seville. Which is divided into two parts in accordance with the treaty which the Catholic Kings of Spain and Don Juan King of Portugal made at Tordesillas in the year 1494.”

At the end of the Spanish MS. of Barcelona from which Lord Stanley's translation was made there is an entry there translated as follows (p. 208) :

“ An end was made of transferring this book from its original in the Portuguese language, translated into Castilian language, in Victoria, the Emperor and King of Spain residing there, on the first day of March of the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-four years, by M(art)in Cinturion, Ambassador of the Community of Genoa, with the interpretation of Diego Ribero, Portuguese, Cosmographer of His Majesty, and Master of the Sailing Charts.”

This confirms the inference drawn from internal evidence and shows that Ribero, if not the actual translator, was responsible for the interpretation of Barbosa's work into Spanish. The close corres-

pondence of the part of his map relating to the Coasts of the Indian Ocean with this Spanish version, which it follows almost uniformly when it disagrees with the Portuguese text, is remarkable.

On these points I may refer to the following notes on certain sections of the text :

- § 14, p. 26, n. 1. On the name Penda or Pemba.
- § 16, p. 30, n. 1. Brava.
- § 18, p. 32, n. 1. Afum.
- § 24, p. 38, n. 1. Reduplication of Names on the Red Sea.
- § 35, p. 58, n. 3. Fartaque, where the wrong order is common to the Spanish version and Ribero ; also the reduplication of Cape Rās-al-hadd.
- § 39, p. 68, n. 2. Position of Sur.
- § 41, p. 75, n. 4. Nabando.
- § Do., p. 76, n. 1. Arabian Coast of Persian Gulf.
- § Do., p. 76, n. 1. Mouth of the Euphrates, and North Coast of Persian Gulf.
- § 42, p. 79, n. 1. Kish.

On the Gujarāt coast Ribero omits most of the places mentioned by Barbosa, and places Champānēr in the Kāthiāwār Peninsula, apparently because Barbosa (in all the versions) gives the names of the inland towns of Gujarāt (including Champānēr) and then goes back to the coast beginning from the most westerly port of Kāthiāwār. Along the western coast of India, however, he is generally in agreement with the Spanish version. His map is at its worst in dealing with the coast from Sindh to the Gulf of Cambay. There is no trace of Kachh, and he adheres to the ancient blunder of making the Indus flow into the Gulf of Cambay, for which there is no warrant in Barbosa nor indeed

in Ptolemy and the *Periplus*.¹ Ribero was probably answerable for the purely imaginary distances in leagues from port to port given in the Spanish version. The meeting known as the Junta de Badajoz was assembled in 1524 to decide certain questions which had arisen in the interpretation of the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494 owing to the great extension of discoveries, especially those of the Portuguese eastward, since that date. The expedition of Magalhães had brought the claims of the Spanish crown (extending westward) into competition with those of Portugal (extending eastward) and as it became clear that the line of demarcation (180 degrees of longitude distant from the line 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands as laid down in the treaty) was close to the valuable islands from which spices were obtained in great quantities, and which were much coveted by both countries, it became important to locate these as accurately as possible. In Ribero's map this line is drawn west of the Moluccas (Province de Maluco) and is marked by the figure denoting 180° being placed on the Equatorial line, that is, it was 180° east or west of the point where the meridian laid down by the treaty of Tordesillas crossed the Equator which on Ribero's map coincides with the point where the Equator intersects the coast of Brazil. This corresponds with the meridian 50° west of Greenwich, and the 180th meridian therefore is the 130th of modern maps. This meridian runs east and not west of the Molucca group, leaving these islands with

¹ Pietro della Valle alludes to this error as persisting at his time. He says "In almost all the Mapps which I have seen the R. Indus is always described falling into the Sea in the inmost recesses of the Gulph of Cambaia; which is a grievous error" (H.S. Ed. by E. Grey, p. 63).

Gilolo on the Portuguese side of the line, and the same may be said of the Philippine group, which according to Ribero lay east of the line of demarcation.

It is evident therefore that this was a burning subject at the time, and Diego Ribero, although a Portuguese, was cosmographer to Charles V, and was appointed one of the Spanish assessors. The celebrated explorer Sebastian Cabot was also an assessor. The possession of the Moluccas was the principal subject of dispute. The Portuguese rested their claim on priority of discovery, while the Emperor urged the modern doctrine that discovery without occupation would give no title. The Spanish relied upon actual possession. They had reached Tidor, one of the Moluccas, after the death of Magalhães, while the Portuguese established themselves on the neighbouring island of Ternate. There was constant fighting until 1528, when the Spanish force surrendered. Next year the Spanish Crown gave up its claims to Portugal in consideration of a sum of 350,000 ducats. Another expedition was however sent out later on, which also surrendered in 1545. The whole subject of the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494 and of the Junta of Badajoz is fully dealt with in Dr. S. W. Dawson's paper in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada*, Vol. V, 1899, pp. 467-536, entitled "The Line of Demarcation of Pope Alexander VI in A.D. 1493 and that of the Treaty of Tordesillas in A.D. 1494." See also "Alexander VI and the Demarcation 1493-1496," by H. Vander Linden, *American Historical Review*, Oct., 1916. The making of the Spanish version of Barbosa's work and of Diego Ribero's map were evidently intended to serve the purposes of the Spanish Government in this controversy.

The distances and directions, entered in the Spanish

version only, seem to bear out this contention. This account says that the Isles of Bandan (probably Buton to the South of Celebes) are fifteen leagues north-north-west of Timor, and from these to the Dandon Isles (Isles of Andon or Andam, see § 119) (which are called Ambon in Ramusio, and no doubt are the Ceram group, especially Amboyna), the distance is given as 100 leagues to the north-east, the Moluccas again (§ 120) being a further twenty-five leagues to the north-east, a computation which would make the Moluccas much further east of the Meridian of Timor than they are in reality.

II. *Value of Barbosa's Work.*—The value of Barbosa's work at the present day is principally geographical and ethnographical. Some of his historical references are of considerable importance, but, as he has distinctly stated himself, his object was not to write a history, but to describe the people and the country and its products. (See § 73, after his account of the taking of Goa, where he disclaims any intention of writing a chronicle.) In these respects he stands almost alone in his period, and his accounts are extremely accurate in many respects, and show great powers of observation. This applies more especially to the South of India, where his long residence and his knowledge of one at least of the languages (Malayālam) gave him an understanding of the people, of which we find few traces among the writers of that period.

12. *His Account of the Hindus of Southern and Western India.*—This is most fully displayed in his account of the Southern Hindu capital, Vijayanagar, now only known by its ruins, and of the Malabar kingdom of which Calicut was the most important town. His account

of the Brāhmans and Lingāyats of the first and of the Nairs of the second are fuller and more accurate than any we have received from other travellers, and his descriptions, evidently from personal observation, of the *Sati*, hook-swinging and other ceremonies are of the greatest value to the anthropologist. He gives also very valuable accounts of the Rājputs and Jains of Gujarāt, and of the mixed Muhammadan population of that country and the neighbouring kingdoms of the Deccan. His description of the strange Perso-Arab mercantile community of the barren Isle of Ormuz, where the solid Portuguese fort still stands on the deserted rocks as a witness to their hundred years' rule, is also full of interest. In his accounts of the natural products of the East his only rival is the learned and accurate Garcia de Orta, who wrote more than forty years afterwards, and whose work has been translated by Sir Clements Markham. In one case, although he does not mention his name, Garcia de Orta quotes from Barbosa, that is in his account of certain poisons used by the Delhi Jogis, which he ascribes to "a chronicle of the kings of Portugal" which he had seen (pp. 233-4, n. 2). A comparison may also be made between his accounts of the unicorn horn and bezoar stone which were used as remedies against poison, and also of the *Alaqueca* or carnelian used to staunch blood, with those which Barbosa had given before (§ 56, § 58, § 86). It is not probable that he had an opportunity in India of consulting the first edition of Ramusio's collection, but it is evident from Correa's observations quoted above that Barbosa's work must have circulated in manuscript. There is every probability that Nuniz borrowed from it his account of the *Sati* ceremony (p. 213, n. 1).

Both accounts relate to Vijayanagar and the incidents correspond very closely and follow in the same order. He also alludes to the burial of the widow with the husband in a certain sect (evidently the Lingāyats), for which the only other authority is Barbosa's work. Nuniz wrote about 1536 or 1537 according to Mr. Sewell (*A Forgotten Empire*, Preface, p. v) ; that is about twenty years after Barbosa.

13. *Various Topics*.—Among the many topics dealt with the following may be noted as of special interest.

AFRICA.

(a) The description (no doubt mainly from hearsay) of the Kingdom of Benametapa, afterwards known as Monomatapa, and of its capital and inhabitants. The latter were evidently a branch of the great Bantu family. Their dances are vividly described, and it is impossible not to believe that this description is from personal observation (§ 5 and § 6),

(b) The use (p. 27, n. 1) of the word *Cairo* (coir) for the cocoanut fibre used in sewing the planks together, probably the earliest instance of the use of this word, which Barbosa no doubt had learnt from his knowledge of Malayālam. The Roteiro (Ed. 1838, p. 28) employs the word *tamiça* in the same connection.

(c) The account of the operation performed on female children among the Hamitic-Semitic tribes on the south-west coast of the Red Sea. Barbosa's mention is undoubtedly the earliest known, and the practice is still universal (p. 39, n. 1).

(d) The account of Abyssinia and its people, and more especially their customs as to the threefold baptism by blood, fire and water, and as to branding on the face, and the religious procession in honour

of the Virgin (or of St. Bartholemew) in the month of August. His testimony to the wealth of the country at the beginning of the sixteenth century is remarkable.

(e) The lucid description of the manner in which the Muhammadan trade with India and the Far East was carried on, and how the Portuguese succeeded in stopping it, or at any rate in diverting a great part of it to the Cape of Good Hope route (p. 44. n. 1) and thereby striking the first blow against the extension of Turkish power in Europe. This was in fact not only a trade war but a continuation of the crusade against the Muhammadan invasion of Europe of which the Turks had now become the protagonists.

ARABIA.

(a) Aden was one of the keys to the control of the Red Sea trade, and Dom Manoel I urged his officers to get possession of it. Alboquerque's heroic failure to storm it with very inadequate means is related by Barbosa in the earliest account extant; and one written no doubt within two or three years of the event. His account of the trade which centred at this point is written from personal knowledge. Its ramifications embraced East Africa and the Arabian coast, the Persian Gulf, the stream of trade which came down the Indus to Daybal, Gujarāt, the Deccan and Malabar, and beyond that Bengal with its muslins and Malacca where the trade with the spice-islands centred. This trade all flowed up the Red Sea and found its way by caravans to Alexandria, then in the hands of the Mamlūk Sultans, but destined in a few years to fall into the hands of the Turks, who already held Aleppo, the *entrepôt* of the Persian Gulf Trade. Portugal could not absolutely stop this trade as she

did that of the Persian Gulf by her possession of Hurmuz, but she was able to check and restrict it to such an extent that it gradually dwindled away, and the Turks lost one of their principal sources of revenue (§ 34 and notes).

(b) The trade of the south-east coast of Arabia. The principal trade from this coast is well described by Barbosa. Horses and incense were its staples. He emphasises the superiority of its horses to those from the Persian Gulf, a superiority still recognised in India. They were in great demand for war purposes among the Muhammadan States of the Deccan and the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar, and when the Portuguese had obtained the control over both sources of supply they were able to make their own terms with these powers (§ 37, § 38, and notes). The trade in incense as well as in horses centred in Esh-Shihr and Dhofār, where it has existed from the earliest ages.

PERSIA.

(a) The description of Hurmuz and its trade in § 45 is even more complete than that of Aden and is evidently derived from personal observation, which is clearly lacking in the confused account of the Persian Gulf inside the Straits of Hurmuz, a confusion made still worse in Ramusio and in the Spanish version.

(b) The lack of personal knowledge is also a drawback to Barbosa's accounts of the newly founded Persian Kingdom of the Safavis (§ 43), but it is valuable as the earliest account written by a European of the rise of the Shi'a creed, and its attainment of power in Persia under Isma'il Shah. The story of his rise was no doubt learnt from Hurmuz and from

the Indian Muhammadans, among whom he had many followers who carried on an active propaganda. The principal of these was Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh the founder of the 'Ādilshāhi dynasty of Bijāpur, who was himself a member of one of the Shi'a Turki tribes of Northern Persia, Isma'il Shāh's earliest supporters. The Sunni Turks on the other hand were the allies of the powerful Gujarāt kingdom, as were the Sultans of Egypt before them, and this combination provided the most powerful enemy the Portuguese had to contend with. Hence Alboquerque's anxiety to form an alliance with Persia against Turkey, in which project he would probably have succeeded but for his untimely death. His incompetent successor abandoned all attempts to carry out this design.

INDIA.

(a) The first region in India (proceeding from north to south) of which Barbosa shows actual knowledge derived from observation is the kingdom of Gujarāt. In § 47 he deals mainly with the people and its divisions. The Muhammadans here as elsewhere are called Moors (*Mouros*) and the Hindūs like other pagans are called *Gentios*. This word I have throughout rendered by "heathen," as the literal translation "Gentile" has never borne this meaning in English, while "Gentoo," the English form derived from *Gentio*, is no longer in use, and even in the eighteenth century was limited in its meaning to some of the lower castes in Southern India. In Gujarāt the Hindus he describes are Rājputs, Banyāns (who seem to have belonged mainly to the Jain creed) and Brahmans; all of whom are described with accuracy as far as was possible at that time. Their

customs and modes of dressing are faithfully recorded.

His descriptions of the Muhāmmadan population are equally faithful. The rulers of the kingdoms which had arisen from the Delhi Saltanat were of various origins. Some of them were descended from Hindu converts, and others from Muhammadan invaders. There was also a large immigrant population of Muhammadan adventurers from Turkey, Persia and Arabia and among them were many of the "Mamlūk" class, captives from the races subdued or raided by the Muhammadans, some of them Europeans. Thus Malik Ayyāz the able Wazīr of the King of Gujarāt was, according to De Barros, a Russian who had been captured by the Turks in his youth and finally was sold to the king of Gujarāt. Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh was a Shi'a from Persia, belonging to one of the Turki tribes of Gīlān. Every ruler depended to a great extent on troops of this class, who, owing to their having no local connections, were more faithful than those of local origin, and there was great rivalry between the two classes. This large infusion of Western blood explains the fair complexion which Barbosa notes among the Muhammadan population of Gujarāt and the Deccan. It also throws some light on the ease with which the Turkish and Egyptian fleets kept up their communications with the Indian States, and shows, too, in some cases how the Portuguese were easily able to find interpreters in these regions. Castanheda tells us, for instance, that the fleet of the Sultan of Egypt in 1515 contained a thousand *Mogav-eres* (for which no doubt we must read *Mughrabīs* or "westerners") from Tunez and Grada (Tunis and Granada) who spoke Spanish (II, p. 11). Refugees

from Spain were at this time helping to man the fleets of the corsairs who were beginning to ravage the Mediterranean. At this period Curtogali had his headquarters at Bizerta and the Mughrabīs from that harbour could easily find their way to Egypt and the Red Sea. Renegades of all sorts were freely employed by the Turks and Egyptians, and few of the sea Commanders were of Turkish origin. In the Red Sea Mīr Husain who commanded the Egyptian fleet, and took part in the fights at Chāul and Diu in 1507 and 1509, was, according to De Barros, a Kurd by race.

All Muhammadans without exception are called by Barbosa, as by other Portuguese writers, *Mouros* or Moors, the name of their nearest Moslem neighbours being extended to all other followers of Islām. In the same way "Turks" in England stood for the creed rather than the race, as in the "Jews, Turks, infidels and heretics" of our prayer-book. But the various races are, well discriminated. He speaks of the Musalmans of "the Kingdom of Cambaya" as Turks, Mamalukes, Arabs, Persians, Coraçones and Targimões, the last two terms alluding to the Khurāsānis or natives of the Khurāsān kingdom of which Herāt was the capital (a much more extensive region than the modern province of Khurāsān), and the Turkomāns of the Khānāts further north. He also points out that among them several languages were spoken, mentioning Arabic, Turkish and Gujarātī, to which Persian should no doubt have been added. In these pages too the legend of the poison-eating King of Cambay, which afterwards obtained such a wide circulation, makes its first appearance (§ 48). Here also is a full description of the civilised and

luxurious Muhammadan trading town of Randēr (Reynel, § 59), afterwards ruthlessly destroyed by the Portuguese. These people seem to have been derived from the early Muhammadan settlers of mixed race on the west coast of India known as Navāyats. Their trading instincts they owed no doubt to Arab blood, and Barbosa gives an attractive description of their rooms, the walls of which were covered with rare porcelain from China, an early instance of a modern mania.

After passing the Kingdom of Gujarāt, Barbosa deals with the seaports of the Bahmanī Kingdom of the Deccan, which he calls the Reino Daquem or D'aquem, a common Portuguese corruption, meaning "the Hither Kingdom." Approaching it as they did from the south, they no doubt imagined that it bore this name to distinguish it from another kingdom further on, probably Gujarāt. This kingdom still existed in name, but the power had passed into the hands of the great vassals. The Nizāmu'l-Mulk founder of the Nizāmshāhī dynasty possessed a very short piece of coast, in which the important seaport of Chāul was included, and south of this the greater part of the Konkan coast was held by Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh, known to the Portuguese as the Idalcão from his former title 'Ādil Khān and also as the *Sabayo*, a name which is discussed on p. 172, n. 1. Barbosa gives a good deal of information about this state, and again lays stress on the point that the Musalmans were to a great extent "white men," and were immigrants into India (p. 175, n. 1). He also shows clearly how all power had passed away from the Bahmanī kings (p. 179, n. 1). He describes fully the armament and manner of fighting of the Deccan armies. His account of the taking of Goa by Alboquerque in 1510, appar-

ently the second and finally successful attack, must have been written within a very few years of the event.

After describing in considerable detail the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar, which, like other Portuguese writers of the time, he calls Narsinga, he passes on to the Malabar coast, his very full account of which will be dealt with in the second volume, as well as his chapters regarding the east coast of India, Further India and the Eastern Archipelago.

14 *The Text*.—The MS. from which the Portuguese editors printed the Book of Duarte Barbosa was, as they have stated, not a good one. It is not in the author's handwriting, and contains many mistakes. Of these some were corrected by the editors and others will be found in the notes to the present volume, where certain corrections are adopted, some of which are obvious, such as *rega* for *regra* (§ 44, p. 89, n. 3) or *fedea* for *sedeia* (§ 64, p. 156, n. 2).

There are also corruptions in proper names such as *Benamajambu* for Tana-Mayambu (§ 63) which admit of no doubt, while others are not easy to explain, for instance Patemxy and Barbasy (§ 51 and § 55), Guogarim for Goga (§ 54), Majandūr or Mayandūr for Bandor (§ 79). As a rule, however, proper names are faithfully rendered, and the Portuguese versions stand closer to the originals than many found in more modern travellers. Charamandel, for instance, is much better than the Coromandel of modern maps which has transposed the palatal of Cholo-mandalam into a guttural. The omission of the cedilla common in early writers of Portuguese is responsible for many mistakes,¹ as where the term for Khurasānīs is given as Coracones instead of Coraçones, and is further converted by Ramusio

¹ See p. 193, n. 1, under Braçalor.

into Coracani. Such errors often become stereotyped in later literature. The Introduction of the Portuguese editors, here translated, gives full information as to the nature of the MS. and their treatment of it, which appears to have been judicious. As there is no other MS. of the Portuguese text available than that of which they made use, I have thought it well to adhere to their plan of inserting the passages borrowed from Ramusio, and indicating them by enclosure in square brackets (not by italics as was done in the Portuguese edition), and to these I have added other passages, overlooked by them, and some from the Spanish version, which, however, in most cases, agrees with Ramusio. Passages found in the Portuguese and not in Ramusio are similarly shown by inverted commas.

In translating I have endeavoured to preserve the character of the simple and straightforward Portuguese of the early sixteenth century, and this entails the use of certain English words and phrases of the same period, although I have not attempted an actual reproduction of Tudor English. The title *Capitão Mor* I have rendered throughout by "Captain-in-Chief," *Mouro* by "Moor" and *Gentio* by "heathen" as above stated. Some doubtful points are discussed in the notes. For convenience of reference I have supplied numbers to the sections.

15. *The Notes*.—In annotating I have endeavoured to elucidate the subject as fully as possible. The enormous amount of research which has been carried out in subjects bearing on the geography, history, archæology, ethnology and philology of the East during the past half-century has rendered this task easy in comparison with what it was when Lord Stanley's translation of this work from the Spanish version was published

in 1866 under the title of *The Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*. To name only a few of the principal works in English it is necessary only to mention the masterly works of Sir H. Yule, *The Book of Sir Marco Polo, Cathay and the Way Thither*, and *Hobson-Jobson* (in which he collaborated with Mr. A. Burnell) and the later editions of these books by M. Cordier and Mr. W. Crooke; the numerous excellent editions of Indian travels by Sir Richard Temple, of which the latest, *The Journal of Peter Mundy*, is of first-class importance; Mr. W. Crooke's edition of *Fryer's Travels* and his *Things Indian*; Mr. Thurston's *Ethnographic Notes from South India*, and the many excellent Glossaries of Castes and Tribes issued by the Local Indian Governments, viz., *Bengal*, by Sir H. Risley; *The United Provinces*, by Mr. W. Crooke; *Madras*, by Mr. Thurston; *The Central Provinces*, by Mr. Russell; and *The Punjab*, by Mr. H. A. Rose; the publications of the Archæological Survey of India; the investigations into the earlier history of India by Mr. Vincent A. Smith, in which he has put into a tangible form the results of the researches of numerous Oriental scholars; Sir George Grierson's comprehensive *Survey of The Languages of India*, still in course of publication; Sir George Watt's *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*: these are but a few of the encyclopædic works bearing on India alone. The historical works dealing with all the countries included in this book are too numerous even to be detailed here, but Mr. S. Whiteway's works bearing on the history of Portugal in the East cannot be omitted, viz., *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India* and *The Portuguese in Abyssinia and the Red Sea*. Several works issued by the Hakluyt Society are included among those mentioned, and in addition to

these the Rev. G. P. Badger's edition of *Varthema's Travels* and his *History of the Imāms and Sayyids of 'Omān*, Messrs Sinclair and Ferguson's *Travels of Pedro Taxeira*, Messrs Burnell and Tiele's *Linschoten's Travels* and Mr. A. Gray's *Pyrard De Laval* should be especially mentioned. For the history of South India Mr. R. Sewell's work on the Vijayanagar Kingdom, *A Forgotten Empire*, in which are included translations of the narratives of two Portuguese visitors Paes and Nuniz, is of great value.

For the East African Coast the history of Mr. Theal is indispensable, and Mr. Hogarth's *Penetration of Arabia* gives an extremely useful account of the work done by explorers, ancient and modern, on the coast of that country. In this connection Mr. Schoff's excellent edition of the *Periplus* should not be omitted, and for the Persian Gulf the historical and geographical work of Sir Percy Molesworth Sykes (whose personal work in that region during the present war is well known) is a mine of information. Mr Guy Le Strange's *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* and Marquart's *Eranšahr*, as well as Barbier de Meynard's earlier edition of the *Geography of Persia* from Yākūt's encyclopædic work are all of great value for the study of mediæval conditions.

The Portuguese were fortunate in their historians during the sixteenth century, and the works of João de Barros, Gaspar Correa, Damião de Goes and F. L. de Castanheda are unequalled among the works of that period. De Barros is the classical authority on the subject, and his full and comprehensive survey will always retain its value as a philosophical history containing the fullest summary of the geographical facts possible at the time, and also as a fine example of

literary style. Correa and Castanheda are to be valued rather for their accurate accounts of events which came under their personal observation, as they were acquainted with India. Two other writers, not strictly historical, should be classed with these historians as supplementary to them, one of them, Garcia de Orta, dealing with the plants and drugs of the East, and the other, our Duarte Barbosa, dealing in the present work with the places and races.

The works of none of the great historians have been translated in full into English, and good editions of their works are much to be desired. Extracts from Correa's *Lendas da India* were translated for the Hakluyt Society by Lord Stanley under the title of *Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, and part of Castanheda's *History of Portugal* was embodied in Osorio's *History of Portugal* in Latin, and thence translated into French by Simon Goulart in 1587 with additional chapters taken direct from Castanheda and De Goes. An English translation direct from Osorio's Latin by J. Gibbs was published in 1752. The whole Portuguese text of Castanheda was first published in Lisbon in 1833. Garcia de Orta has been fortunate in finding a modern translator and editor in Sir Clements Markham. Of the present work the translation by Lord Stanley of Alderley, made from the Spanish MS. preserved at Barcelona alluded to above, was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1865 under the title of *The Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*.¹ Lord Stanley considered the Spanish MS. preferable to the Portuguese text which had been published in 1813 by the Lisbon Academy of Sciences. I have given above reasons

¹ Lord Stanley's notes when inserted in this edition are enclosed in square brackets.

for disagreeing with this opinion. It has been considered desirable by the Society that a new translation should be made from the Portuguese original, which is now issued under the title of *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*. This was the title used by the Portuguese editors of 1813, and also by Ramusio in his Italian version of the work through which it was first made known to the European public. The title of *Coasts of East Africa and Malabar* is evidently unsuited to a work which deals with the coasts of East Africa, Arabia, Persia, India, Burma, Siam, Malacca and the Islands of the Eastern Archipelago as far as they were known.

In conclusion it remains for me to acknowledge gratefully the help I have received in elucidating certain points from Sir Richard Temple, Bart., Mr. W. W. Smart, I.C.S., Mr. B. Glanvil Corney, I.S.O., Mr. W. Foster, of the India Office, Mr. R. W. Frazer, Mr. A. J. Ellis, of the India Office Library, and Major A. Ivens-Ferraz, of the Portuguese Army.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

APPENDIX TO INTRODUCTION.

ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS FOLLOWING THE MUTINY
AGAINST MAGALHÃES, FROM DE BARROS, *Dec. III*,
V, 8, f. 149 b, Ed. 1563.

“ Fernam de Magalhães wishing to learn what had been done by it (*viz.* by the ship *S. Antonio* commanded by Alvaro de Mesquita) told the astrologer Andres de Sam Martem to make a prognostication, who replied that he found that the ship had returned to Castille and that the Captain was a prisoner. And although Fernam de Magalhães did not attach much credit to this, yet so it was, for the pilot with the consent of all the crew returned to Spain, and the Captain Alvaro de Mesquita, who opposed this, was wounded and imprisoned: and they came to where the disgraced men Joam de Cartagena and the priest had been put ashore, and arrived in Castille eight months after leaving Fernam de Magalhães. And when he found himself short of that ship, and as Alvaro de Mesquita and several Portuguese had gone with it, and he was left without any other support than that of Duarte Barbosa and a few others from whom he expected help, for all the rest of the Castilian crews were alienated from him. . . . And as one of his orders was to keep Duarte Barbosa as Captain of the Ship on which the astrologer A. de Sam Martim was; who entered

this order in a book, and beneath it his reply, so as to give his own justification for all time, and as this book with some of his papers (on account of his death in those parts of Maluco) came into our possession, and we now have them as we shall say further on,¹ it did not seem to be outside the province of this history to set down here the substance of this order and of the reply thereto of Andres de Sam Martim in order that the condition in which they were travelling may be made clear, not by us but by their own words. . . . And as it is in our language, these are the actual words and phrases of the writing without change of a letter:

‘ I Fernam de Magalhães, Knight of the order of Santiágo, and Captain-General of this fleet which His Majesty has sent out for the discovery of spices, etc. : make known to you Duarte Barbosa, Captain of the ship *Victoria*, and to the pilots, masters and boatswains thereof, as I have perceived that you all hold it a grave matter that I have determined to go forward, as you consider that the time is too short to carry out the voyage on which we are sailing, and as I am not a man to slight the aspect or the opinions of anyone, all my affairs having been carried out openly and in the presence of all without any offence having been taken thereat by any; also by reason of what came to pass at the Port of Sam Juliam with regard to the death of Luis de Mendonça and Gaspar de Quexada, and the setting ashore of Joam de Cartagena and Pero Sanchez de Reina, clerk; and whereas you,

¹ No further mention of this subject by De Barros has been traced.

through fear, neglect to tell me and counsel me regarding that which is in your opinion beneficial to His Majesty's service and the welfare and safety of this His fleet, wherein you do wrong to the service of the Emperour King our Lord, and act contrary to the oath you have taken to me ; Wherefore I now command you on behalf of the said Lord, and on my own behalf I beg and entreat you, that on all matters relating to our journey forwards or of our return you give me your opinions in writing, each one for himself ; stating therein the reasons why we should go forward or turn back, and not neglecting to speak the truth out of regard for any matter whatsoever. With which reasons and opinions, I will also set down my own, and my decision as to the conclusion which we must come to.

‘ Done in All Saints’ Channel over against the River of the Island, on Wednesday the 21st day of November, in fifty-three degrees (of latitude), in the year 1520.’ ”

This is followed by the adverse opinion of Andres de Sam Martim, which is given in detail. The historian then adds :

“ Fernam de Magalhães having received this and other opinions, as his intention was not to turn back for any cause whatsoever, and he had paid this compliment as he perceived that the crews were not satisfied with him, but terrified by the punishment he had inflicted, wherefore to put himself in the right he made a long reply in which he included detailed arguments to the purport that they should go forward.”

No mention is made of the opinion recorded by Duarte Barbosa, but there can be no doubt that he supported Magalhães.

In the following chapter De Barros relates briefly the death of Magalhães and the astrologer in the Isle of Subo and that of Duarte Barbosa and João Serrão. Pigafetta¹ says that after the death of Magalhães


“ Two Governors were elected by the crews of the ships, to wit Odoardo Barbosa, a Portuguese, a relation of the Captain-General, and Giovan Serrano. Our interpreter named Henrico had been slightly wounded, and therefore had not disembarked, as was his usual custom, to do what was necessary. Wherefore Odoardo Barbosa summoned him and told him that now his master the Captain was dead, but that he, being a slave, was not made free thereby, and that he intended on arriving in Spain to make him over as a slave to Donna Beatrice, wife of the Captain-General; and he threatened him with harsh words that if he did not go ashore he would have him flogged. The slave rose from his bed and showed that he did not care for the words of the said Odoardo. He went ashore, and betook himself secretly to the Christian King of Zubut, to whom he said that the Spaniards intended to depart in a few days, and that if he would follow his advice he would gain possession of their ships and all the goods in them. And thus they made a treacherous plot.”

The whole story is summed up by Dr. Guillemard in his *Life of Magellan*.



INTRODUCTION BY THE EDITORS

OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THE PORTUGUESE TEXT
PRINTED IN 1813, PUBLISHED BY THE ACADEMIA REAL
DAS SCIENCIAS IN THE SECOND VOLUME OF THE *Colecção*
de Noticias das Nações Ultramarinas UNDER THE TITLE
Livro de Duarte Barbosa.

MONG our ancient historians of India, Duarte Barbosa has always been held worthy of a distinct place, for as he lived at the end of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth centuries, his period included almost all our discoveries ; he travelled with the spirit of investigation through all those new regions, and described the principal towns and seaports starting from the Cape of S. Sebastião near the Cape of Good Hope as far as the utmost limits then known, that is the country of the Lequios. The vastness of this undertaking, especially at a time when he had scarcely any assistants to help him, the truthfulness of the author, the light which this work throws on geography, trade and navigation, led to its appearance some years later in the Italian version of Ramusio in the first volume of his *Navigations* ; and although this version was made from a manuscript carelessly written in many places, as the translator himself notes, it was

yet much valued by students and treated as a classic in these matters, especially as it was supposed that the original, from which it was made, was lost. For these reasons we held it necessary to enrich our collection with this book : we had in fact already determined to translate it from the Italian, when we recollected having seen in an ancient MS. codex in our possession a small work very like it, and on comparing one with the other we had the satisfaction of discovering the original text of Duarte Barbosa, which had until then escaped our recognition, as it lacked the Author's name and the Preface which accompanies the Italian translation. As this treatise adds one historian more to Portuguese literature, who has been but little known from early times, it is incumbent on us to describe more minutely the manuscript which we have used, and also to set forth what information we have been able to obtain as to its author.

After the first pages, which contain matters of little interest, as they are already well known, there is a letter from Lopo Vaz de Sampaio to the King Dom João III which differs considerably from that printed by Couto.¹ This is followed by a diary of the journey of the Viceroy, D. Constantino, and some letters from the Governors of India at that period ; and at the end of this is a declaration in form of a letter, running as follows :—

This book belongs to Lizuarte de Aureo who had it made. It was begun in the ship *Rainha* during her first voyage, which was in the year 1558, the year in which a fleet was assembled wherein D. Constantino, brother of the Duke of Bragança, went to India as Viceroy. In the same ship sailed D. Aleixo de Sousa Chichorro, Comptroller of the Indian Treasury and Captain of Cochim, and his nephew Fernão de Sousa Chichorro as Captain of the said ship.

¹ Couto, *Decada IV*, Liv. 6, Cap. 7.

After this title comes another short account of D. Constantino's voyage, and immediately after this follows the Book of Duarte Barbosa, which occupies most of the written portion of the volume; I say the "written portion" as almost all the remainder consists of paintings of the Governors of India up till that time, and of the various fleets sent to those waters since that of Vasco da Gama.

Putting aside whatever has no bearing on our subject, and speaking only of Duarte Barbosa's work, it is obvious that it was written by two different hands, from which a considerable diversity in the spelling arises, and even the accuracy of the copy is affected. This is more faithful in the middle than in the portions which precede and follow it. Independently of this the mere fact that the MS. was not an autograph made it desirable to obtain another MS. for collation with it, but our efforts in this direction were in vain, and we were obliged to make use of Ramusio's translation for this purpose. On making the collation we met with numerous points of difference, as to which our readers must be warned. The first of these arises not only from the different idioms of Italian and Portuguese, but also from the freedom of the translator in abbreviating or paraphrasing certain sentences. This is of little importance in many cases, to which it is not necessary to draw attention, and the same may be said of certain transpositions which do not affect the meaning. These we shall not notice, as it would be both tedious and useless.

This is not the case, however, with the passages found in excess, whether in the original or in the Italian translation, both of which we have considered it necessary to note; those in the translation because,

the MS. not being in the author's handwriting, the scribe may have omitted them through carelessness. It is therefore desirable that they should appear in their respective places, but, in printing them there, we should be lacking in accuracy if they were not perceptible at first sight: the extra passages taken from Ramusio are therefore printed in their proper places, but in italics.¹ We have also noted the passages found only in the Portuguese MS., placing them between inverted commas partly for the reason given above, and partly because, as we shall see immediately, it is doubtful whether some of these passages were not additions made afterwards to Duarte Barbosa's work.

With these exceptions this edition is a faithful reproduction of the MS.² which we had the honour of laying before the Royal Academy of Sciences in its session of the 29th of July of the present year [1812].

We have already given what information seemed necessary for this edition. It remains to state what we have been able to ascertain regarding Duarte Barbosa. He was born in Lisbon in the latter part of the fifteenth century. His father was Diogo Barbosa, Knight of the Order of Santiago,³ and Private Grandee of D. Alvaro de Bragança; having travelled to India in a ship belonging to that Prince in the year 1501

¹ In the present version these passages are placed between square brackets.—Ed.

² In order to secure uniformity in spelling we found it necessary to change certain letters; we also considered that all proper names of countries, rivers, etc., should commence with capital letters. Whenever we found in the MS. any passage in which the text was clearly corrupt, we have emended it, giving the original in a note, and when we have supplied a missing word or words from the same translation [*i.e.*, Ramusio's] we have, as in other case, printed them in italics.

³ Vide Barros, *Dec. III*, Liv. 5, Cap. 8, and the *Historia Geneal. da Casa Real*, Tom. x, p. 37.

in João-de Nova's fleet.¹ He had given proofs of his ability and faithfulness not only in this negotiation² but had already given himself up entirely to the service of his illustrious patron, accompanying him during his disgrace throughout his residence in Spain, and taking part in the prosperous or fatal events through which he passed during his life³ until the year 1504 when he was present at his death in Toledo. After this occurrence he resolved to settle with his family in the city of Seville where the Catholic sovereigns [*i.e.* Ferdinand and Isabella] at that time held their Court.

While this was the father's life the son followed in his footsteps in the Indian career, the school of all the young men of the time. We do not know the dates of his departure and return, but it is certain that his stay in those latitudes could not have been short in view of the thorough knowledge he shows of them, and also that in the year 1518⁴ he had already left for Seville to join his father, after passing some time in Lisbon, "moved thereto" as Ramusio says "by certain discontents,"⁵ and especially, as we believe, incited by the suggestions of some of his friends and relatives. This assertion, which is not a mere

¹ Vide Barros, *Dec. I*, Liv. 5, Cap. 10.

² Vide in this Collection [*i.e.*, in Vol. II of the *Collecção de Noticias Ultramarinas*] *A Navegação de Thomé Lopes*, Cap. x.

³ When D. Alvaro de Bragança took refuge in Spain in the time of the King D. João II, the King (of Spain) D. Fernando (King Ferdinand of Aragon), who had always esteemed him as he deserved, bestowed on him the appointment of Alcalde Mayor of Seville and Adujar, and his substitute in this employment he named Duarte Barbosa. [*Sic.* or Duarte read *Diogo* as in De Barros, Ed. 1563, Vol. III, f. 147a.—*Ed.*]

⁴ The Portuguese editors do not give their authority for adopting this date.—*Ed.*

⁵ But Ramusio does not use the word "discontents" or "*disgostos*" the Portuguese editors have it. What he said was "*mosso poi da cune cagioni, che sarebbe superfluo de raccontarle*," *i.e.*, "moved thereto by certain causes which it would be superfluous to relate."—*Ed.*

guess, becomes probable when we remember that at this period the renowned Fernando de Magalhães, a relation of Duarte Barbosa, had left these Kingdoms and betaken himself to Seville, where he sought refuge in the house of Diogo Barbosa, who not only received him with the greatest hospitality, and gave him all the assistance in his power to forward the great undertaking which he was then meditating, but united himself with him also by the ties of blood, giving him in marriage one of his daughters, sister of our author.

These new ties and his natural inclination to exploration and adventure did not permit him to enjoy a long rest in Seville, to which he was not by nature disposed; and finding that the intrigues and obstacles which had hitherto obstructed the voyage of Fernando de Magalhães had been cleared away, he resolved to start with him and many other Portuguese who had gathered there, and he sailed on August 10th, 1519, in a fleet which was destined to sail round the world. The ship *Victoria* in which he sailed formed part of this fleet, and was the only vessel which returned.

Many writers of our land and of others have left accounts of this voyage and it is unnecessary for us to describe it. Suffice it to say that Duarte Barbosa having passed through endless troubles, some caused by men and some by the elements, was at the end poisoned in the island of Zebu in the Philippines on the 1st of May, 1521. His age and talents gave promise of a longer life.¹

¹ Accounts of his death differ one from another in some points. As to the voyage the following may be consulted. Barros, *Dec. III*, Liv. V; *Castanheda*, Liv. VI; *Ozorio*, Liv. II; Faria, *Asia Portuguesa*, Tom. I, Parte III, Cap. V; Antonio de S. Roman, *Histor. de la India*, Liv. II, Cap. XXV; *Pizarro*, Liv. VIII and the *Carta de hum Portuguez*, companion of Duarte Barbosa, who refers to the voyage of the ship *Victoria*, printed in Ramusio's Collection, Vol. I, p. 370, of the 3rd ed.

The author of the *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, who relates this death in the same way as we have given it here, adds inadvertently that when he was writer to the Cananor Factory he (Duarte Barbosa) was appointed, by Nuno da Cunha, Governor of India, to arrange terms of peace with the Samorim, not considering that this took place in the year 1529, eight years after his death, and that the Duarte Barbosa of whom Barros speaks (*Dec. IV*, Livro 4º, Cap. 3º) must therefore be another person.¹

This reflection gives us the opportunity of admitting in honour of the memory of that most deserving author [*i.e.* the Abbé Barbosa, author of the *Bibliotheca Lusitana*] that no one appreciates more than ourselves the value of the *Bibliotheca Lusitana* and of the enormous difficulties which had to be overcome in its compilation. It is sufficient that this was the first work of this nature undertaken among us. For the same reason all impartial persons must recognise that the statements in that work are not always perfectly accurate, and that it was not in the power of one man to examine everything written by so many thousands. The work of the Abbé Barbosa is a rich gold mine which needs the labour of many workmen to produce the perfect metal; when therefore we find it necessary to criticise it is only in order to assist, as far as in us lies, in his valuable labours.

The only work of Duarte Barbosa which we possess is his Book which we now publish, finished as he states in the preface given by Ramusio, in the year 1516. It is evident that in our original there are certain passages

¹ On this point see remarks in the Introduction, p. xlix *supra*.

later than that year,¹ but as, on the one hand, the MS. is not an autograph, and as, on the other, these passages do not occur in the Italian translation, it may be

¹ [When the author speaks of Barborá our MS. adds "This town was taken by force by a Portuguese fleet under the command of the Captain-in-Chief, Antonio de Saldanha, and the whole place destroyed in the year 1518." Further on, speaking of Zeila, the MS. concludes thus: "This place was taken and destroyed by the Portuguese under the Captain-in-Chief Lopo Soares who was then Governor of India, and he took it on his way from the port of Juda in the year 1517"; and treating of the Island of Ceilão he says "The King our Lord possesses here a fortress for trade purposes newly built"; and the year in which that fortress was built by Lopo Soares was 1517. Finally in referring to the customs of the people of Maçua, the Italian version says "I know this as it has been stated to me" [Ramusio's words are simply *E mi fu affermato*.—Ed.], while our MS. says "This I have myself observed as I was present at the taking of Zeila." NOTE OF THE PORTUGUESE EDITORS.]

On this question of dates there is considerable confusion at this period. It is clear from all the authorities that Lopo Soares D'Albergaria left Lisbon on April 7th, 1515, and arrived at Goa on September 8th the same year, before the return of Albuquerque from Hurmuz. Albuquerque died on December 16th, 1515, on his arrival at Goa, and according to De Barros, Lopo Soares sailed for the Red Sea on February 8th, 1516, having spent the interval in preparations. (*Dec. III*, Bk. i, Ch. 2, f. 4 b, ed. of 1563). Correa, on the other hand, makes him delay on the Malabar Coast for another year and start for the Red Sea in February 1517 (Correa, Vol. II, p. 488) and the whole chronology agrees with this, for there is no discrepancy as to the sequence of events. The failure at Jedda and the taking of Zeila took place in the same year as the departure from Goa. According to De Barros he sailed for Aden at the end of August (*l.c.*, f. 15 b) while Correa makes it the same month in 1517 (*l.c.*, p. 504).

Antonio De Saldanha was despatched from Lisbon early in 1517 and arrived at Goa with a badly damaged fleet on September 17th, 1517.

Lopo Soares was still at Kālhāt on September 10th of 1516 or 1517. He arrived at Goa some time after Antonio De Saldanha and after his fleet was refitted sent him off to the Red Sea. Correa's account is extremely confused here (Vol. II, p. 536). He says that Lopo Soares "ordered D. Tristão to get his ships ready to start for Maluco in May, 1518, and he despatched Antonio de Saldanha with the title of Captain-in-Chief to the Straits." Again (*ib.* p. 539) he says, "The outward expeditions having been despatched, as I have said, in February 1518." After this he gives no account of what happened to Saldanha's expedition, and it is possible that a chapter has been lost. The expedition against Berbera is not mentioned by Mr. Whiteway in his *Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*. Mr. Danvers in his *Portuguese in India*, I, 340, just mentions the event. He converts Saldanha's name into Soldana. The mention by Barbosa is undoubtedly the earliest authority for it, and it is corroborated by De Barros as has been seen.

Castanheda (Vol. II, pp. 11-19) agrees with Correa on this point, and one contemporary event he mentions seems decisive. He says that Lopo Soares, after leaving Aden and before he arrived at the Island of Kamarin, heard from certain refugees the news of the defeat of the Mamlūk Sultan of Egypt by the Turks, and their occupation of Cairo.

considered open to doubt whether these passages have not been added by another hand at a later date, a consideration not lacking in probability.

The *Bibliotheca Lusitana* gives a long list of authors who mention this work.

an event which took place in 1517. He also says that the fleet of the Sultan of Egypt arrived at Jedda on November 4th, 1515. Its commander, Rais Sulaimân, then delayed for eight months, building a fort on Kamarân I. Then he attacked Aden and after his failure there he returned to Jedda. He had now declared for the Turks and had started for Cairo leaving Jedda with a very small Turkish garrison. This is given as the reason why Lopo Soares determined to attack Jedda. There can be, therefore, no doubt that De Barros was mistaken in giving 1516 as the year of the expedition of Lopo Soares. De Barros himself mentions the Turkish conquest of Egypt as one of the reasons for the abandonment of the attack on Jedda by Lopo Soares *after its failure*. He also gives the date of the death of Duarte Galvão in Kamarân during the occupation by Lopo Soares as June 9th, 1517, which is an additional proof that he was in error in giving 1516 as the date. (*Dec. III, Bk. i, Ch. 4, ff. 11a to 12b.*)

No importance need be attached to the date given in Barbosa's preface (1516). We owe this solely to Ramusio, and although the preface itself appears to be Barbosa's composition, the date may have been given by Ramusio as what he thought most probable. It is not necessary therefore to hold that any event after that date must be a later addition. All that we know for certain is that Barbosa must have left India some time before he joined his father at Seville.

None of the events alluded to in the Portuguese editors' note occurred after 1518, and there seems no good reason for supposing that Barbosa spent any length of time in Lisbon before proceeding to Seville. On the contrary, considering the suspicion and jealousy entertained against Charles V by Dom Manoel, he would have had every reason for leaving Portugal as soon as possible. It is therefore probable that he may not have left India till 1518, and have gone to Seville the same year, or early in 1519, for the purpose of joining Magalhães.—ED.



DUARTE BARBOSA'S PREFACE.¹



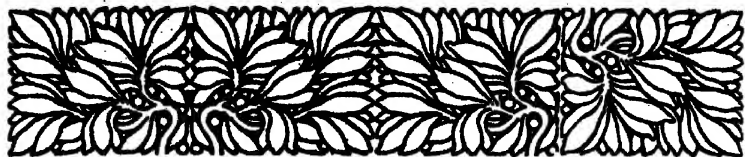
DUARTE BARBOSA, a gentleman of the right noble city of Lisbon, having sailed for a great part of my youth over the seas of India, discovered in the name of His Majesty the King our Lord, and having travelled by land as well through many and divers regions lying in the neighbourhood thereof, and having seen and heard in that time many things which I esteemed marvellous and astonishing inasmuch that they had never been seen or heard by our forefathers, have resolved to write them down for the profit of all men, even as I saw them or understood them day by day, endeavouring to set forth in this my book the towns and the bounds of all those kingdoms where I have either been myself or as to which I have learnt from trustworthy persons, stating which are the kingdoms of the Moors and which of the Heathen, and the customs thereof.

Nor have I omitted the trade of those countries and the kinds of merchandise found therein, and the places where they are produced, and whither they are carried.

¹ This Preface has been translated direct from Ramusio's Italian, from which the Portuguese Editors made the version printed in the edition of 1813.

Inasmuch as, besides those things which I have myself seen, I have ever taken pleasure in enquiring from Moors, Christians and Heathen regarding the manners and customs of those countries of which they had knowledge, and their statements I have none the less painfully compared one with another to the end that I might have a more certain knowledge of the truth thereof, which has ever been my chief desire as it should be of all who write on such matters; wherefore I am persuaded that, considering my labours to discover the truth, it will be recognised that I have not failed therein as far as the feebleness of my wit has permitted; and in the present year 1516 I have brought to a close the writing of this book.





THE BOOK OF DUARTE BARBOSA.

§ I. FIRSTLY, THE CAPE OF SAM SABASTIAM.



RAVELLING along the coast after passing the Cape of Good Hope in the direction of India as far as that of Sam Sabastiam¹ there are certain fair lands with many hills and open plains wherein are numerous herds of cows in abundance, sheep and other wild cattle. The dwellers in this land are black folk ; they go naked, wearing only skins, whether of deer or other wild beasts, and some of them wear French capes.² And our men could never learn aught of the speech of these peoples, nor what merchandize goes into their country. They know nothing of navigation, nor do they make

¹ In his first paragraph Duarte Barbosa passes rapidly from the Cape of Good Hope to the Cape of São Sabastião, still known as Cape St. Sebastian (22° S. lat.). This cape is a little distance north of Cape Correntes (generally shown in modern maps under the Spanish form Corrientes), which was the farthest point south reached by the Arab traders at the time of the Portuguese discoveries.

² The natives met by the Portuguese travellers on this coast were undoubtedly Hottentots. See Theal, *History and Ethnography of South Africa*, I, pp. 217, 219.

use of the sea,¹ and the Moors of Arabia and Persia have never sailed to that region nor discovered it, by reason that Cape Correntes is exceeding stormy.

§ 2. THE ISLANDS WHICH THEY CALL THE GREAT HUCICAS.²

PROCEEDING further along this coast, beyond the Cape of Sam Sabastiam towards India, there are certain islands hard by the mainland which they call the Great Hucicas,³ and on the mainland pertaining thereto are certain settlements of Moors who have dealings with the heathen of the mainland and trade with them. On these Hucicas is found much ambergris

¹ Up to this point the explorers had found great difficulty in communicating with the natives, but when they came into contact with speakers of Arabic, which was still at that period a familiar language to many Spaniards and Portuguese, this difficulty disappeared. For details as to this part of the coast reference should be made to the *Roteiro* of V. da Gama and to the accounts of other journeys undertaken soon after his time. Barbosa shows no familiarity with it, and probably Sofala was his first port after rounding the Cape. Most of the places mentioned by the earlier travellers are shown in Ribero's map (1529). The more detailed survey of Perestrello (1576) adds a few names, some of which were bestowed by himself (Theal, *l.c.* I, p. 378).

The points touched at by Vasco da Gama on his first voyage were (1) the Bay of Sam Bras (Mossel Bay), the Ilheos Chãos or Flat Islands (Bird Islands) and the Ilheo da Cruz (Cross Island), which though sighted were not actually visited, (2) the Rio do Cobre and the Terra da Boa Gente, identified by Mr. Ravenstein (*V. da Gama's First Voyage*, p. 19) with the Zavora R. which lies north of Delagoa Bay, between the Limpopo R. and Cape Correntes.

² [Insula Bocicas, 23 deg. S. lat., just north of Cape St. Sebastian. Homann's Atlas, Nuremberg, 1753.—St.]

³ The groups of islands here called the Great and the Lesser Hucicas do not figure in the accounts of the early Portuguese travellers before Barbosa. The Great Hucicas must be identified with the Bazaruta Islands immediately N. of Cape St. Sebastian, which were early known for their pearls. These islands are undoubtedly the Bocicas of Homann's Atlas mentioned in Lord Stanley's note. The Spanish version gives the form Uciques.

which the Moors gather. It is of good quality and they sell it in other lands. They find also great store of pearls and small seed-pearls, which are found under the sea in oysters; yet they know not how to collect nor how to fish for them; what they get is by roasting the oysters, and the seed-pearls which are left are spoilt and burnt. No doubt they could be got there, and good, if they but knew how to take them¹ and how to fish, as they do in other parts of which² I shall speak further on.

§ 3. THE LESSER HUCICAS IN THE RIVERS.

[LEAVING the great Hucicas and proceeding to the side of the bay where stands Çofala, (a fortress which the King of Portugal possesses here, near to which much gold is found), at seventeen or eighteen leagues therefrom are certain rivers, which form islands in their midst. These they call the Lesser Hucicas,³ wherein are some settlements of Moors who trade with the heathen of the mainland: their food is rice, millet and flesh, and they bring it to Çofala³ in small boats.]

¹ In Lord Stanley's translation of the Spanish version the following words are inserted here:

"as is done in Sael, Cochoromandel and in Barahe."

[Note.—Probably Bahrein.—St.].

For Sael we should no doubt read Cael (§ 97). The C must have been read as if with a cedilla, and given a Spanish form, S being substituted for Ç.

² The Lesser Hucicas were not mentioned in the original MS., the passage being inserted from Ramusio. They appear in Ribero's map (Uicas Pequenas) and in the Spanish version, the two generally corresponding closely. They may be identified with the Isle of Chiluán (spelt by Theal Tshiloane), which lies in the mouth of the R. Ingonicamo (20° 37' S. lat.). Theal, *l.c.* I, p. 198.

³ [Cujus rex Quitove, Atlas 1753. Reg. Munica cujus rex Chicanga.—St.].

§ 4. ÇOFALA.

GOING forward in the direction of India after passing these Hucicas, and twenty or thirty leagues from them, there is a river of no great size upon which up the stream is a town of the Moors which they call Çofala,¹ nigh to which the King our Lord possesses a fort. These Moors have dwelt there for a long time by reason of the great traffic which they carried on with the Heathen of the mainland. The Moors of this place speak Arabic and have a king over them who is subject to the King our Lord.²

And the manner of their traffic was this³: they came

¹ [Cefala, Ortelius.—St.]

² [Lusiadas, Canto v, Stanza 76.—St.]

Ethiopes são todos, mas parece
Que com gente melhor comunicavam;
Palavra alguma Arabia se conhece
Entre a linguagem sua que fallavam:
E com panno delgado que se tece
De algodão as cabeças apertavam,
Com outro, que de tinta azul se tinge,
Cada hum as vergonhosas partes cinge.]

³ The name Çofala or Sofala is the Ar. *sufālah*, "low land," and the term was applied at first by the Arab sailors as a general term to any low-lying places they touched at on the East Coast of Africa. Thus Mas'ūdī (A.D. 943) says that the *Bilāda's-Sūdān* (or country of the negroes) extends as far as "the *sufālahs* of the Zāng." The same writer says that "the sailors of 'Omān of the tribe of Al-azd travel on the sea of the Zāng as far as the island of Kanbalu and the *Sufālah* of the *Wāk-wāk*" (Mas'ūdī, Sprenger's trans., p. 261, note, and B. de Meynard's Edition, I, p. 233, where the reading *Wāk-wāk* is adopted). This seems to be the first mention of our Sofala. The word *Wāk-wāk* has been read in various ways, but this reading is the most probable. Hall (*Prehistoric Rhodesia*, 1909, p. 66) says it is the Bantu name for Bushmen, and Theal (*l.c.* I, p. 180) also considers that the *Wāk-wāk* are the Bushmen. This is borne out by the statement in Idrisi's *Geography* (1150). He says that the country of *Sufālah* borders on that of *Wāk-wāk* inhabited by hideous aboriginals whose speech resembles whistling (Jaubert's *Géographie d'Edrisi*, Paris, 1836, I, p. 79). He also speaks of the gold-production of the whole country of the *Sufālah*, *i.e.*, the whole coast from Zanzibar to C. St. Sebastian, and says that iron also is produced in large quantities. Mas'ūdī's more general earlier mention says nothing of gold.

Yāqūt (A.D. 1220) in his great geographical work calls *Sufālah* the most remote city in the land of the Zāng. He also speaks of the trade

in small vessels named *zambucos*¹ from the kingdoms of Quiloa, Mombaça, and Melynde, bringing many cotton cloths, some spotted and others white and blue, also some of silk, and many small beads, grey, red,

in gold and the methods of barter carried on between the Arabs and the natives.

Ibn Batûta (A.D. 1330), who did not go farther south than Kilwa or Kulwa (Quiloa), speaks of Sufalah and its trade in gold only from hearsay. Gold-dust, he says, was brought thither from a place called Yûfi (or Nûfi).

At the time of the first Portuguese voyages Sofala was subject to the ruler of Quiloa, and apparently was not of great importance. Vasco da Gama on his first voyage did not touch there, and Pedro Alvarez Cabral, in 1501, although his fleet arrived there did not halt but passed on to Mozambique; on his return voyage from India, however, he detached Sancho de Tovar from his fleet with one ship to obtain information about it. De Tovar arrived in Lisbon one day after Cabral and reported that Sofala was a little island in the mouth of a river, and that gold was brought there from a mine in the mountains (Navegação de P. A. Cabral, *Collecção de Noticias*, Vol. II, p. 134, Lisbon (1867 reprint of 1812 edition)). João da Nova in 1501 did not touch at any inhabited place before Mozambique. V. da Gama on his second voyage stayed at Sofala for twenty-five days, but did not obtain much gold according to de Barros, but Correa says that da Gama himself went to Môzambique and sent to Sofala Pero Afonso de Aguiar, who made a treaty with the Sheikh, and rejoined da Gama at Melinde (Correa, I, p. 272).

In 1505, the King Dom Manoel I. determined to erect forts at important points in the new discoveries, and Sofala and Quiloa were selected on the East Coast of Africa. Pero d'Anhaya landed at Sofala that year, and began to build the fort. After great losses and suffering it was finally established, but P. d'Anhaya died before it was finished. This was the fort mentioned by Barbosa. Sofala continued to be a Portuguese trading centre for many years, but the amount of gold obtained was not what had been hoped for. A plan of the fort as it was in 1634 is reproduced by Theal (*l.c.* I, p. 466).

Linschoten, writing in 1596, gives some account of it, but his information was obtained at Mozambique. The gold, he says, came from Sofala and Monomotapa (Linschoten, *Voyages*, H.S., I, pp. 30-33).

As the *entrepôt* of the gold trade the name became famous for wealth, as may be judged from the epithet of "a rica Sofala" used by Camões, and from Milton's "Sofala, thought Ophir." Yule has noted that in this quotation Milton has wrongly accented the name on the first syllable instead of the second. Other quotations will be found in article on Sofala in Yule and Burnell's *Anglo-Indian Glossary* (Hobson-Jobson) (Crooke's Edition, 1903, p. 849). For a general survey of the subject Keltie's *Partition of Africa*, Ch. IV, should be consulted.

¹ *Zambucos*. This is the first-occurrence in Barbosa's itinerary of this word, afterwards frequently employed. It is a Portuguese adaptation of the Ar. *sambûk*, the Ar. *s* being generally represented by *z* in Portuguese. Small-craft generally used for coast traffic or for communicating from the shore with larger vessels. Most of them have one mast and a large lateen sail. For quotations as to the use of the word, see Yule's *Gloss. s.v. Sambook*.

and yellow, which things come to the said kingdoms from the great kingdom of Cambaya in other greater ships. And these wares the said Moors who came from Melynde and Mombaça [purchased from others who bring them hither and] paid for in gold at such a price that those merchants departed well pleased ; which gold they gave by weight.

The Moors of Çofala kept these wares and sold them afterwards to the Heathen of the Kingdom of Benameta, who came thither laden with gold which they gave in exchange for the said cloths without weighing it. These Moors collect also great store of ivory which they find hard by Çofala, and this also they sell in the Kingdom of Cambaya at five or six cruzados the quintal. They also sell some ambergris, which is brought to them from the Hucicas, and is exceeding good. These Moors are black, and some of them tawny ; some of them speak Arabic, but the more part use the language of the country. They clothe themselves from the waist down with cotton and silk cloths, and other cloths they wear over their shoulders like capes, and turbans on their heads. Some of them wear small caps dyed in grain in chequers and other woollen clothes in many tints, also camlets and other silks.

Their food is millet, rice, flesh and fish. In this river as far as the sea are many sea horses, which come out on the land to graze, which horses always move in the sea like fishes ; they have tusks like those of small elephants in size, and the ivory is better than that of elephants, being whiter and harder, and it never loses colour. In the country near Çofala are many wild elephants, exceeding great [which the country-folk know not how to tame], ounces, lions, deer

and many other wild beasts. It is a land of plains and hills with many streams of sweet water. In this same Çofala now of late they make great store of cotton and weave it, and from it they make much white cloth, and as they know not how to dye it, or have not the needful dyes, they take the Cambaya cloths, blue or otherwise coloured, and unravel them and make them up again, so that it becomes a new thing. With this thread and their own white they make much coloured cloth, and from it they gain much gold. "This they did as a remedy after they had perceived that our people were taking from them the trade of the *zambucos*, and that they can only obtain goods through the hands of the factors whom the King our Lord has there in his factories and forts."

§ 5. THE GREAT KINGDOM OF BENAMETAPA

BEYOND this country towards the interior lies the great kingdom of Benametapa¹ pertaining to the

¹ The name given by Barbosa as Benametapa was written by de Barros (1552) as Benomotāpa, and in one passage (*Dec. I*, p. 194, Ed. 1628) he says that the form Monomotapa is also used. Linschoten (1591) only uses the latter, which henceforth became the established form. The meaning which the Portuguese attached to this name varied as much as its form. As will be seen from the text, Barbosa treated it as the name of a country, and this use still lingered in the time of de Barros, who speaks of the country of Benomotāpa as being watered by certain rivers (*l.c.*, p. 192). Yet he also recognises it as a title or name, speaking of Burrō Chief of Butua as a vassal of Benomotāpa (p. 191) and again (p. 193) he says "Benomotāpa is King of the land" and (p. 194) "this prince whom they call Benomotāpa or Monomotapa is like an Emperor among us." This was the sense ultimately adopted by the Portuguese. Yet Linschoten speaks of Monomotapa as a mine, and adds (*I*, p. 31) "in this mine is great store of gold, called by the Portingales 'Botongo' and 'ouro em po' or 'sandie gold.'"

(The English translator of Linschoten wrote "Botongoen ouroempo" not perceiving that the syllable *em* at the end of the first word was simply the Dutch for *and*). The meaning of the phrase is clear from de Barros' remark that the people who dig the mines are called Botongas, and that, from this, the gold was known as Botonga gold. Theal considers that this name (given by Dos Santos in the Italian form "botonghi") is an approximation to the Sekalanga word for "gatherers," from

Heathen whom the Moors name Cafres; they are black men and go naked save that they cover their private parts with cotton cloth from the waist down. Some are clad in skins of wild beasts, and some, the most noble, wear capes of these skins with the tails which trail on the ground, as a token of state and dignity. They leap as they go, and sway their bodies so as to make these skins (*tails* in Ramusio and Spanish) fly from one side to the other. They carry swords thrust into wooden scabbards bound with much gold and other metals, worn on the left side, as with us, in cloth girdles which they make for this purpose with four or five knots with hanging tassels to denote men of rank. They also carry assegais¹ in their hands, and others carry bows and arrows of middle size; "the arrows not so long as those of the English,² and not so short as those of

ihu butu "to collect or gather." It may be noted, however, that there is a land of the Batonca or the Batoka on the Zambezi, east of the Victoria Falls.

The origin of the word Benametapa or Monomotapa is uncertain. Theal says that it is unknown among the Modern Makalanga, but that in some other Bantu dialects it means "Lord of the Mountain," a title which may be compared to the Arabic *Shaykhu'l-jibāl* applied to the head of the Assassin sect (misrendered *Old Man of the Mountain*) or to the *Maliku'l-jibāl*, the title given in the eleventh century to the Chiefs of *Ghor* in Afghānistān. Keane interprets it as Lord of the Mines (*Man, Past and Present*, p. 102).

¹ *Assegais*. The Portuguese *azagaia*, which had been adopted both in Spain and Portugal from the Berber word *zaghāya*, brought into the Peninsula by the Moors, was carried by them to Africa, and applied to the throwing-spears of the Zulus and other Bantu races comprised under the name of Cafres, i.e., Kāfirs or Heathen, given them by the Arabs.

Dozy in his *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe* (Leiden, 1869) s.v. "Azagaia" shows that it represents not a true Arabic word but a word taken into Arabic from a Berber dialect. *Az-zaghāyah*, = *Azagaia*; "Assegai" is now naturalised in S. Africa.

² *Arrows of the English*. The English archers had been well known to the Portuguese owing to their alliance with the English and the help given by John of Gaunt's archers during the war with Spain. The Turkish archers had become known during their recent wars in the Indian Ocean. This passage is omitted in Ramusio and the Spanish versions. See also § 73, p. 181, n. 13.

the Turks." The iron arrow-heads are long and finely pointed. They are warlike men, and some too are great traders. Their women go naked, only covering their private parts with cotton cloths as long as they are unmarried; but when they are married [and have borne sons] they throw other cloths across their breasts.

§ 6. ZIMBAOCHE.¹

FIFTEEN or twenty days' journey inland is a great town called Zimbaoche,² in which are many houses of wood [and of straw]. It pertains to the Heathen, and the King of Benametapa often stays there: [it is six days journey thence to Benametapa]. The road thereto goes inland from Çofala towards the Cape of

¹ [Zimbrow, Ortelius, Zimbaon, Atlas, 1753. Series Regia.]

² The Zimbaoche of Barbosa, which de Barros gives in the form Symbaoc, is the modern Zimbabwe, a name applied to several places in the district south of the Zambezi, and especially to the Great Zimbabwe, but it is not possible, as far as we know, to identify the Benametapa capital definitely with any one of these. At the time of the Portuguese discoveries these solid buildings were most probably no longer in use, and they seem to have been constructed by a race which had been overthrown by the Bantus.

According to de Barros the name meant "Court" and was applied to all the residences of the Benomotapa. Since the modern re-discovery of these massive remains there has been much controversy as to their origin and age, and also as to the mines with which some of them are associated, for which some writers claim great antiquity, the gold of Ophir and of the Queen of Sheba being traced to this source. Others are content to assert that the Arab trade in gold on this coast was very ancient, and it certainly was already well established when Mas'udi wrote in the tenth century. It is also possible that the gold which found its way to Rome through Arabia came from this source. The opponents of these theories, especially Mr. Randall MacIver, maintain that the evidence derived from excavation proves that these buildings are not earlier than the later Middle Ages. Dr. Theal's judicious summing-up in Vol. I, ch. viii, of his *History and Ethnography of South Africa* (1907) may be accepted as the best account available of the whole subject. The following works may also be consulted:—Bent, *Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, 1892; Keane, *The Gold of Ophir*, 1901; Randall MacIver, *Mediæval Rhodesia*, 1906; Hall, *Prehistoric Rhodesia*, 1909.

Good Hope. In this town of Benametapa¹ is the King's most usual abode, in a very large building, and thence the traders carry the inland gold to Çofala and give it unweighed to the Moors for coloured cloths and beads, which are greatly esteemed among them; which beads come from Cambaya. As regards Benametapa these Moors say that the gold comes from a place yet further away towards the Cape of Good Hope, from another kingdom subject to the King of Benametapa, who is a great lord, with many kings under him. He is lord of an exceeding great country, which runs far inland, and also extends as well to the Cape of Good Hope and Moçambique: rich presents are daily laid before him, which the other kings and lords send him, each according to his ability. These they carry uncovered on their heads through the town, until they arrive at a very lofty house where the king is always lodged; and he sees them through a window but they see him not, they only hear his voice. Afterwards the King sends for the person who has brought him such and such a present, and soon dismisses him after he has been well entertained. This king always takes with him into the field a captain, whom they call Sono, with a great band of warriors, and five or six thousand women, who also bear arms and fight.

¹ Barbosa mentions two principal towns of the kingdom, viz., Benametapa the usual residence of the King and Zimbaoche his occasional residence. It is clear that the kingdom was one of the powerful Bantu military empires, of which there have been several in South Africa, although the accounts given by the early Portuguese from native information were certainly exaggerated. The Makalanga tribe of which the Benametapa or Monomotapa was the chief was, however, a large and powerful one. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, owing to the exhaustion of perpetual wars, its powers declined, and the Monomotapa was obliged to rely to some extent on Portuguese support. In 1629, the ruling chief of that name went through the form of conversion to Christianity, and in 1652 another was baptised under the name of Domingos. A picture of this ceremony, preserved by the Dominicans in Rome, is reproduced by Theal (*l.c.*, p. 478).

With this army he goes about subduing kings who have risen or would rise against their lord.

This King of Benametapa every year sends men of rank from his kingdom to all the seignories and places which he holds, to give them new fire, that he may know whether they are obedient to him, in this wise : each of these men when he arrives at each town has every fire put out, so that not one fire is left in the place ; and when all are out, they all come to receive fire from his hand in token of the greatest friendship and obedience ; so much so, that the place or town which is not willing to do so is forthwith accused of rebellion. Thereupon the King at once sends his aforesaid captain, who either destroys the seignory or reduces it to subjection. This captain, with all his warriors, wheresoever he wishes to stay, is fed at the cost of the town. Their provisions are millet, rice and flesh ; they also make much use of gingelly oil.

§ 7. CUAMA.¹

JOURNEYING from Çofala forty leagues more or less towards Moçambique there is a very great river² which

¹ [Zuama, Ortelius.—St.]

² [Quotation from the *Lusiadas*, Canto x, 93.—St.]

The last lines of this stanza are

“Vê quedo lago donde se derrama

O Nilo, tambem vinco está Cuama.”

“See, from that lake whence Nile branches forth, Cuama also flows.”

Camões here adopted the generally accepted theory of the time that all the great rivers of Africa flowed from one central lake, as may be seen in Duarte Lopez' map of 1578-87 (see Major's *Discoveries of Prince Henry the Navigator*, 1887, p. 209). The Zambezi delta appears in this map as “Boccas de Cuama.” Ribero's map of 1529 only gives the name “R. de los buenos Señales,” which is a Spanish translation of the Portuguese “Rio dos bons Signaes,” the name bestowed on it by Vasco da Gama because the appearance here of men of a more civilised appearance than those he had as yet met with seemed to him a good omen. He had passed the Arab settlements further south without landing (*Roteiro*, Porto, 1838, p. 22).

The Rio dos bons Signaes is no doubt the Quilimane branch of the Zambezi (see Ravenstein's Note in his edition of the *Roteiro*, p. 19).

they call Cuama¹ which leads into the inner country over against the kingdom of Benametapa more than a hundred and seventy leagues. In the mouth of the said river is a town whose king they call Mangaló.² By this river comes much gold from Benametapa to this Moorish town, and from this river is formed another which goes to a town called Angoya, and it is here that the Moors have many *almadias*³ (canoes) to convey cloth and much other merchandize from Angoya and others to take abundance of gold and ivory thither.

§ 8. ANGOYA.⁴

FURTHER on, leaving this Cuama, a hundred and forty leagues from it, skirting the coast, is a very great town

¹ Under the names Cuama and Angoya Barbosa describes the delta of the Zambezi. The river to which he gives the name of Cuama is the most southerly, and that of Angoya the most northerly branch of the great river. The name Cuama properly applied to an island in the delta, and was later employed to designate the whole tract. The southern branch is still known as Kuama or Luabo, but the Chinde branch more to the north is now the best navigable channel. The Quilimane R. corresponds with Barbosa's Angoya, but being obstructed in its upper reaches it is no longer a main outlet of the Zambezi.

The name Zuama in the Spanish version is no doubt based on a mistaken reading of Cuama as Çuama, a pardonable mistake, as the use of the cedilla is very capricious in Portuguese books of this period.

² [The old maps have a kingdom of Mongale stretching N. from the R. Zuama.—St.]

³ *Almadia*. This name is frequently used in the old writers to denote a canoe or dug-out. It is derived according to Dozy (*Glossaire*, s.v. *Almadia*) from the Ar. "*Al-ma'diya*," which appears to be a word derived from a Berber dialect. The meaning of this word was a ferry-boat, and it continues to denote a small-boat or canoe, and according to Vieyra "an Indian boat made of one entire piece of timber," i.e., a dug-out. The meaning "raft" given by Dozy and Yule is not found in Portuguese, but is an alternative meaning in Spanish.

⁴ The name of Angoya seems to have been bestowed by Barbosa upon the town at the mouth of the northern branch of the delta, by confusion with Angoxa or Angosha, which lies considerably further N. and is not connected with the delta. It is represented on modern maps by the bay and island of Angoche, between 16° and 16° 40' S. lat. (Theal, l.c., I, p. 195). This corresponds fairly well with the distance of 140 leagues from Cuama to Angoya. The name perhaps is a general one meaning island. Stigand (*Land of Zinj*, p. 143) says that the Swahili call the I. of Zanzibar, Unguja.

of Moors called Angoya¹ [which has its own king]. In it dwell many merchants who deal in gold, ivory, silk and cotton cloths and Cambay beads as those of Çofala were wont to do. The Moors of Çofala, Mombaça, Melynde and Quiloa convey these wares in very small craft concealed from our ships, and in this wise they carry great store of provender, millet, rice and flesh of divers kinds. The natives thereof are some black and some tawny, they go bare from the waist up, and below it are clad in silk and cotton cloths and they wear other cloths folded like cloaks on their shoulders; some wear turbans on their heads, and others caps made of squares of silk cloth. They speak the native language of the country, that of the Heathen, but some speak Arabic. At times these Moors obey the King our Lord, but at other times, being far from our fortresses, they become rebellious.

§ 9. MOÇAMBIQUE.²

GOING forwards towards India, and leaving Angoya, there are three islands very near to the mainland, among which is a Moorish town called Moçambique³

¹ [Angoches, 16° S. lat., Homann.—St.]

² [Mozambique. Ortelius.—St.]

³ Mozambique possesses a good harbour and a convenient situation near the north end of the Mozambique Channel between Madagascar and the mainland, by which all the trade between Kilwa and the ports north of it with the Zambezi and Sofala must pass. The harbour was, as Barbosa says, convenient for repairing ships, but the mainland was open to attack from the Bantu tribes, and the Isle of Mozambique was waterless. On this account it does not seem to have been early occupied by the Arabs. It is not mentioned by Mas'ûdi, Idrisi or Ibn Batûta, and was probably occupied by an expedition from Kilwa subsequent to the voyage of the last-named traveller. When Vasco da Gama arrived there in 1498, it was held by a "Viceroy" called by the Portuguese Çacoeja, according to De Barros, but the *Roteiro* calls him Collytam (Sultân) and Correa simply the Sheikh. The name Çacoeja has not as yet been identified with any Arabic appellation. The name used by De Barros is Çacoeja (not Zacoeja). Mr. Ravenstein (*First Voyage of Vasco da Gama*, p. 25, note 1) suggests *Shâh Khwâja* as a possible explanation, but this combination of Persian titles is very

which has a very good haven, formerly the resort of the Moors who traded to Çofala and Cuama to repair their ships—"as they found there good depth of water and wood and provisions." Among the Moors of this isle of Moçambique was a Xarife (*sharif*) who governed and judged them. These Moors are of the same tongue and have the same customs as those of Angoya. Here the King our Lord has a fortress, so that the aforesaid Moors are under his rule and governance, and our ships now take in at this port water, wood and provisions which are found in that land, and there they mend the ships that need it, in going as well as in coming, and hence they send supplies to the Portuguese at Çofala, as well as many things which come from Portugal and from India also [as it lies on the way thither]. On the mainland appertaining to these islands are many very great elephants [and other wild beasts]. The land is inhabited by heathen who are like beasts, going naked and smeared with red clay. Their private parts are wrapped in strips of blue cotton cloth with no other clothing. Their lips are bored with three holes [and in each hole three cowries] and in these they place bones with little stones and other little pendants.

improbable among speakers of Arabic. It was visited again by Cabral in 1500 and by V. da Gama on his second voyage in 1502. Succeeding voyages showed its convenience as a rendezvous and repairing place for ships, and the island was occupied by the Portuguese without opposition in 1507. A fort, with warehouses for storing goods, was erected, which is the fort alluded to by Barbosa. After the accession of Dom Sebastião to the throne of Portugal in 1568, a new fort was built, but the wars with the Bantu tribes affected the place unfavourably and its prosperity declined. It is now of little importance, although it has a good position on the coast of the Portuguese province to which it gives its name. The fort of 1568 is still in existence and in good preservation.

The name in the *Roteiro* is given as Mõcobiquy (read Môçobiquy) which is very close to the form Musambiki or Msambiki used by the natives (Sir H. H. Johnston's *Colonization of Africa* (1899), p. 46, note 1). Compare the form Monsambiqui on Canerio's map of 1502.

§ 10. QUILÔA.¹

GOING along the coast from this town of Moçambique, there is an island hard by the mainland which is called Quilôa, in which is a Moorish town with many fair houses² of stone and mortar, with many windows after our fashion, very well arranged in streets, with many flat roofs. The doors are of wood, well carved, with excellent joinery. Around it are streams and

¹ [Quilôa, Ortelius.]

The town called by the Portuguese Quilôa is generally known now as Kilwa, and the line of Camões, *Lus.*, I, 99, *Quilôa mui conhecida pela fama*, shows that he placed the accent on the first syllable, and not as marked by Barbosa. The form used in the *Roteiro* (p. 48) is Quyluee, i.e., Kilwī. The earliest mention by an Arab writer is in Yāqūt, who gives it as Kilwa, while Ibn Batūta, who is careful about pronunciation, gives it as Kulwa (1330).

The accepted story of the Persian foundation of Kilwa is not alluded to by Ibn Batūta, although he usually gives details of this sort. There is nothing in his narrative (Paris Ed. 1878, Vol. I, p. 193) to show that the Sultān Abū'l-Mudhaffar Ḥasan was of Persian origin or a Shī'a by creed. It was not till the publication of De Barros' *Decadas* in 1552 that the story was made known. De Barros (Ed. 1628, Vol. I, fol. 158) gives as his authority "a chronicle of the kings of this city," but does not say how it came to light. It attributes the foundation of Kilwa to a Persian from Xiraz (Shīrāz) who was son of a king named Soltā Hocen (Sultān Ḥusain) who sailed from Ormuz, and, avoiding Magadoxo and Brava, because they were held by Arabs whose sect was different from his, he chose the isle of Kilwa, which he purchased from its inhabitants. This is said to have taken place "in the four hundreds of the era of Mahamed," and rather more than seventy years after the settlement of Magadoxo and Brava. At the period mentioned, Shīrāz was still in the possession of the Dailamī or Būyahī kings, none of whom was called Sultān Ḥusain; moreover the title of Sultān was not in use among them, as Tughril Bēg Seljūk was the first ruler of Persia to take it. He conquered Shīrāz in A.H. 447 (A.D. 1055), and it is possible that the emigrant 'Alī was a member of the Būyahī family who fled from the Seljūks. It may be noted that the appellation Abū 'Alī often appears on the Būyahī coins, and that the successors of 'Alī at Kilwa seem also to have employed something like it, if we may judge from the forms Ale Bumale and Ale Busolquete given by De Barros. The Chronicle, it may be supposed, from the complete list of rulers given up to the arrival of the Portuguese, was a recent composition, and cannot be accepted as an authority for anything more than the tradition accepted when it was written.

There are certain doubtful points in the story. It is not confined to Kilwa, but a similar story of a Persian settlement is also found at Malindi (see Burton's note in *J.R.G.S.*, xxix, p. 15).

² In Barbosa's time it is evident that Kilwa was a well-built town with stone houses, but it must have developed rapidly since Ibn Batūta's visit, as he found it a comparatively poor place with wooden houses thatched with reeds.

orchards and fruit-gardens with many channels of sweet water. It has a Moorish king over it. From this place they trade with Çofala, whence they bring back gold, and from here they spread all over Arabia Felix, which henceforth we may call by this name [even though it be in Ethiopia] for all the sea-coast is well-peopled with villages and abodes of Moors. Before the King our Lord sent out his expedition to discover India the Moors of Çofala, Cuama, Angoya and Moçambique were all subject to the King of Quilôa, who was the most mighty king among them. And in this town was great plenty of gold, as no ships passed towards Çofala without first coming to this island. Of the Moors there are some fair and some black, they are finely clad in many rich garments of gold and silk and cotton, and the women as well; also with much gold and silver in chains and bracelets, which they wear on their legs and arms, and many jewelled earrings in their ears. These Moors speak Arabic and follow the creed of the Alcoran, and have great faith in Mafamede.¹

This town was taken by force from its king by the Portuguese, as, moved by arrogance, he refused to obey the King our Lord. There they took many prisoners and the king fled from the island, and His Highness ordered that a fort should be built there, and kept it under his rule and governance. "Afterwards" he ordered that it should be pulled down, as its

¹ According to the story the Persian settlers must have been Shi'as, yet Ibn Batûta in 1330 found that the inhabitants of Kilwa were orthodox Sunnis of the Shâfi'î sect, and this sect is still prevalent on this coast among Swahilis and others (see Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, 1913, p. 107). Barbosa does not note anything regarding their creed except that they followed the Korân and had great faith in Mafamede. This is the usual form of the name Muḥammad in early Portuguese writers. In this name, as in other Portuguese words from the Arabic, *f* represents the guttural *h* and *ḥ*, a similar transformation to that in many English words where the guttural *gh* is pronounced *j*, as in "laugh," etc.

"maintenance was of no value nor profit to him, and
"it was destroyed by Antonio de Saldanha."¹

§ II. MOMBAÇA.²

FURTHER on, an advance along the coast towards India, there is an isle hard by the mainland,³ on which is a town called Mombaça.³ It is a very fair place, with

¹ On Vasco da Gama's first voyage he was tricked by his Mozambique pilot into believing that there was a Christian population at Kilwa. He was unable to land there but discovered the deception on arriving at Mombaça. Pedro Alvarez Cabral in 1500, and Vasco da Gama himself on his second voyage in 1502, were received with scarcely disguised hostility by Mir Habraemo (Ibrāhīm), a usurper who was then in power. V. da Gama obtained payment of a "tribute" of two thousand *mithkāl*s of gold, and Kilwa was then held to be tributary to the King of Portugal. The erection of the fort in 1505 was part of the policy of Dom Manoel I, to enforce which Francisco d'Almeida was sent out. The Portuguese occupation was not a success. The formerly great trade was ruined by their efforts to regulate it, and in 1507 the fort was dismantled. This was carried out, according to De Barros (Ed. 1628, Vol. I, fol. 208), by Francisco Perreira, and not by Antonio de Saldanha, as Barbosa says.

Kilwa was (in 1587) occupied by a tribe from the Zambezi region, known as Zimba, or Mazimba, identified by Sir H. H. Johnston with the Jaggas, who at that period invaded the Congo kingdom (*J.R. Anth. Inst.*, 1913, p. 395). It long remained the seat of an Arab kingdom, under Portuguese suzerainty. Sa'id bin Sultan of Masket conquered it in 1698. The Portuguese recovered it for a few years in 1728. The authority of Sa'id was established in the early part of the nineteenth century. Kilwa then became a depôt of the slave trade, which led to the interference of the British Government in the middle of the nineteenth century. The German occupation in 1885 (based on the notorious treaties obtained by Peters and Jühlke) was recognised by the British Government and unwillingly accepted by Sayyid Burghash.

Modern maps show two distinct Kilwas, of which the southern one, Kilwa Kisiwani, or Kilwa "of the Island," with its islands, corresponds with the ancient Kilwa. The northern port, Kilwa Kiwinje, or "Of the Casuarinas," seems to be of more modern origin. At the present time (1917) these ports are in British occupation and form a naval base of operations against the German forces in the interior. The history of Kilwa has been fully described by Burton (*Zanzibar*, Vol. II) and Strandes (*Die Portugiesenzeit von Ostafrika*). See also *The History of Kilwa*, by A. Strong, *J.R.A.S.*, 1895.

² [Mombaza, Ortelius.—St.]

³ Barbosa, in placing Mombasa immediately after Kilwa (following the coast northwards), departs from his usual accuracy, as he passes by Mafia, Zanzibar and Pemba and the adjoining coast, and puts off the mention of these places until after that of Madagascar. It is probable that he became acquainted with the mainland only on his first journey

lofty stone and mortar houses, well aligned in streets [after the fashion of Quiloa]. The wood is well-fitted with excellent joiner's work. It has its own king, himself a Moor. [The men are in colour either tawny, black or white and also] their women go very bravely attired with many fine garments of silk and gold in abundance. This is a place of great traffic, and has a good harbour, in which are always moored craft of many kinds and also great ships, both of those which come from Çofala and those which go thither, and others which come from the great kingdom of Cambaya and from Melynde; others which sail to the Isles of Zinzibar, and yet others of which I shall speak anon.

This Mombaça is a land very full of food. Here are found many very fine sheep with round tails, cows and other cattle in great plenty, and many fowls, all of

to India probably with Cabral (Introduction, p. xxxiv), and inserted the other islands with Madagascar after he had written his first description.

Mombasa was one of the early Arab settlements. It is not mentioned by Mas'ûdi, but Idrisi in the middle of the twelfth century describes it as a place with a good harbour belonging to the kingdom of the Zang, and the residence of the king. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited it in the early part of the fourteenth century it was of less importance, and certainly was not the residence of the ruler. This traveller only spent one night there and does not seem to have learnt much about it. Vasco da Gama came here direct from Mozambique without touching at the intermediate ports, and only learnt of the existence of Kilwa on arriving at Malindi. The *Roteiro* (p. 41; Ravenstein's Ed., p. 34) describes Mombasa as a large town well situated on a height, with a good harbour. The existence of a Christian community here was at first believed in by the Portuguese. Mombasa had a large trade and was on bad terms with its neighbour Malindi. The ruler of the latter, who was on friendly terms with the Portuguese, tried to obtain their assistance against his rival, but no actual attack was made on Mombasa till Francisco d'Almeida's expedition in 1505. The demand that the Sheikh should accept Portuguese supremacy and pay tribute was rejected, and the town was then stormed after severe fighting, and plundered in the manner related by Barbosa.

After its destruction Mombasa was long a place of no importance, but the excellence of its situation and harbour soon caused it to revive.

In 1528 the old feud with Malindi again burst out, and the Portuguese, as before, sided with their protégés and destroyed the town a second time. The invasion of the Zimbaz later on caused much trouble, and Portuguese power was very uncertain (see p. 19, n. 1). The two forts

which are exceeding fat. There is much millet and rice, sweet and bitter oranges, lemons, pomegranates, Indian figs, vegetables of divers kinds, and much sweet water. The men thereof are oft-times at war and but seldom at peace with those of the mainland, and they carry on trade with them, bringing thence great store of honey, wax and ivory.

The king of this city refused to obey the commands of the King our Lord, and through this arrogance he lost it, and our Portuguese took it from him by force. He fled away, and they slew many of his people and also took captive many, both men and women, in such sort that it was left ruined and plundered and burnt. Of gold and silver great booty was taken here, bangles, bracelets, ear-rings and gold beads, also great store of copper with other rich wares in great quantity, and the town was left in ruins.

which Linschoten mentions in the following passage, in 1583, were no doubt held by the Musalmān rulers (Linschoten, I, p. 36).

"Mombassa, which is a town situate in a little Island of the same name which sheweth afarre off to be a high sandie downe, and hath a haven with two forts to defend it." Mombasa was betrayed by its Arab rulers to the Turkish raider 'Ali Bey in 1585, and held by the Turks until they were expelled by the Portuguese in 1589. The Portuguese erected a fort in 1594. It is impossible to go in detail into the history of the place during the next century. The Portuguese sometimes held it for a time, and one of their periods of occupation is recorded in an inscription of 1635 over the gateway of the fort (see Rev. G. P. Badger's Introduction to *Varthema's Travels*, p. cix). In 1698 Mombasa fell, with other East African ports, into the power of the Maskat Imāms, who brought the Portuguese power north of the Mozambique territory to an end. The descendants of that family have retained nominal power till recently, but lost their possessions on the mainland, including Mombasa, when European spheres of influence were established. British influence was temporarily established at Mombasa in 1823, but the action of the officer, Capt. Owen, R.N., who had taken this step at the request of the people of Mombasa, was disavowed by the British Government on the representations of Sayyid Sa'id. Mombasa is now a thriving port, although this applies especially to the Kilindini Channel, the southern part of the strait which separates the island from the mainland, where is the terminus of the Uganda railway. The old town of Mombasa, where the Portuguese fort still stands on its high rock, is in the northern channel. (See Lugard, *Rise of our East African Empire*, 1893; Lyne, *Zanzibar*, 1905; Stigand, *The Land of Zinj*, 1913, Ch. v; Strandes, *Die Portugiesenzeit von Deutsch und Englisch Ostafrika*, who gives a view of the fort.)

§ 12. MELINDE.¹

LEAVING Mombaça, and journeying along the coast towards India, there is a fair town on the mainland lying along a strand, which is named Melinde.² It pertains to the Moors and has a Moorish king over it; the which place has many fair stone and mortar houses of many storeys, with great plenty of windows and flat roofs, after our fashion. The place is well laid out in streets. The folk are both black and white; they go naked, covering only their private parts with cotton and silk cloths. Others of them wear cloths folded like cloaks and waist-bands, and turbans of many rich stuffs on their heads.

They are great barterers, and deal in cloth, gold, ivory, and divers other wares with the Moors and

¹ [Melinde, Ortelius.]

[Melinde hospício gazalhoso e charo. *Camões*, Canto x, stanza 96].

² Melinde or Malindi is situated 3° 9' S. of the Equator, S. of the mouth of the R. Sabaki. It is now one of the ports of British East Africa, but has lost its former importance. In the sixteenth century it was one of the best known places on that coast and obtained its celebrity partly from the friendly terms established between the Portuguese and its Arab rulers on Vasco da Gama's first voyage. He there obtained a so-called Christian (in reality a Hindu) as pilot, and was thus enabled to cast loose from the African continent and sail direct to Calicut.

The earliest mention of Malindi by the Arab writers appears to be that of Idrisi (about 1150). In his time it was evidently not yet in Arab hands, and he describes it as a large place, dependent on hunting and fishery. This is confirmed by its not being mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭa (1330). There is a local tradition of a Persian settlement (see above under Quilôa). Burton says that according to this tradition the leading tribe of the Wa-swahili (the Wagemu) derives its name from 'Ajami, the Arabic for "Persian." Capt. Stigand (*Land of Zinj*, p. 44) also tells us that a town called Shaka (near the mouth of the Tana R. between Malindi and Lamu) is also believed to have been founded by Persians, and its name is derived from *Shah*. See also under Lamu. The name of Malindi in Swahili means "a deep channel" (Stigand, *l.c.* p. 104).

Malindi remained faithful to Portugal as long as that country maintained its position on the East African coast. It was in consequence attacked by the Turks under 'Ali Bey in 1585, but was held against them. On the other hand in the seventeenth century Mombasa was handed over to the rule of a Malindi Sheikh. After the disappearance of Portuguese rule, Malindi shared the fortunes of the rest of this coast, as already noticed under Mombaça.

Heathen of the great kingdom of Cambaya ; and to their haven come every year many ships with cargoes of merchandize, from which they get great store of gold, ivory and wax. In this traffic the Cambay merchants make great profits, and thus, on one side and the other, they earn much money. There is great plenty of food in this city [rice, millet and some wheat which they bring from Cambaya], and divers sorts of fruit, inasmuch as there is here abundance of fruit-gardens and orchards. Here too are plenty of round-tailed sheep,¹ cows and other cattle and great store of oranges, also of hens.²

The king and people of this place ever were and are friends of the King of Portugal, and the Portuguese always find in them great comfort and friendship and perfect peace, " and there the ships, when they chance " to pass that way, obtain supplies in plenty."

§ 13. THE ISLAND OF SAM LOURENÇO.³

[IN the sea which lies in front of the aforesaid places [at the distance of seventy leagues from Cape

¹ *Round-tailed sheep.* These have been mentioned also under Mombasa. The fat-tailed sheep of this region is described by Yule (*Marco Polo*, 1st ed., II, 357 ; 3rd ed., II, 424). Also see *Variethema's Travels*, under Zaila) where it is called the Berbera sheep. The name Ethiopian sheep employed by Yule is preferable.

² Instead of oranges " and hens " the Spanish version reads, according to St., " oranges sweet and sour." Ramusio has the same reading.

³ The island of Sam Lourenço was the first name given by the Portuguese to Madagascar.

[*Lusiadas*, Canto x, stanza 137.

De São Lourenço ve a ilha affamada
Que Madagascar he d'alguns chamada.

" See the famed Isle of São Lourenço,
Which is by some called Madagascar."]

Correntes¹) is a very large island called Sam Lourenço²

¹ [Cabo dos Corrientes, Ortelius.—St.].

The correct Portuguese form is *Cabo das Correntes*, "the Cape of the Currents."

² The earliest mention of Madagascar known is that of the Arab historian Mas'ūdi (about 943 A.D.), if, as seems probable, he alludes to it under the name of *Ḳambalū*, although Yule (*Marco Polo*, II, p. 348) thinks that this name may refer to Comoro. It is evident however that *Ḳambalū* was a more important and extensive land than the Comoro Islands. Mas'ūdi, who himself made a voyage from *Ḳambalū* to *Ṣohār* (read as *Sinjār* by Barbier de Meynard) in 'Omān, says it was inhabited both by Muslims and by unconverted Zang. See Mas'ūdi (Barbier de Meynard's Ed.), I, 233. Nevertheless it is probable that the names *Ḳambalū* and Comoro are identical in origin, and that the restriction of the name to the small group dates from the time when other names were bestowed on Madagascar, much as the name of Zanzibar, once applied to a large part of East Africa, is now restricted to one island. Nor can it be doubted that the Isle of Al-Ḳomor mentioned by Idrīsī (Jaubert's version, I, 67) is Madagascar, and that his Isle of *Abūnah* is the principal island of the Comoro group, which in Ribero's map of 1529 are called *Yllas de Omuna*. The modern name of Madagascar seems to have been derived from *Makdashau* or *Magadoxo*, whence it was probably first colonised by Arabs. The name in the form *Madeigascar* is first found in *Marco Polo*. The Note on this subject in Yule's *Marco Polo* (with M. Cordier's additions in the 3rd ed.) gives various opinions as to the origin of the name. Sir H. Yule himself considered that although Marco Polo had confused *Magadoxo* with Madagascar and included in his description some particulars which referred to the first named place, yet that he intended to describe Madagascar, and, notwithstanding the opposite opinion of M. Grandidier, Prof. Cordier agrees with this view. M. Barbier de Meynard, the editor of Mas'ūdi, holds *Ḳambalū* to be Madagascar, while Sir H. Yule thought it might be Pemba.

Madagascar was first made known to the Portuguese by Fernão Soares in the early part of 1506. Under stress of bad weather, on a voyage from India to Portugal, he was driven East of the island, instead of following the Mozambique Channel. De Barros (*Dec. I*, Ed. 1628, fol. 188) says "He was the first who discovered the Island of Sam Lourenço, on the south side." This discovery was made on Feb. 1st, 1506. Later on in the same year, Ruy Perreira (with João Gomez d'Abreu) touched at a port named *Matatāna* on the West coast, but he was afterwards wrecked and lost. [João Rodrigues Pereira according to Correa (I, 665). The wreck, according to the same authority, took place on the Comoro Islands and not on the coast of Madagascar (I, 666). This took place early in 1507.] On receiving these reports Tristão d'Acunha visited the coast with his fleet, and, after his departure, d'Abreu, who had gone up the *Matatāna* river in a small boat, was also lost, his ship being driven away by a storm (De Barros, *Dec. II*, fol. 4, 6 and 20). The discovery by Perreira and d'Abreu was made on Aug. 10th, 1506, St. Laurence's day, whence the Portuguese gave it the name of *São Lourenço*. Dr. Jean Denucé, however, in his *Les origines de la Géographie Portugaise* (Gand, 1908), p. 108, says that this name is derived from "Ruy Lourenço Ravasco, who discovered the Isle of Angoya on the Zanzibar coast." See below, p. 26, n. 1. It seems much more probable that it was named from the Saint's day on which it was discovered, as this was a general practice among the Portuguese and Spanish explorers.

inhabited within by Heathen and in the seaports by Moors, who hold many towns there. This island has many kings, both Moors and Heathen: in it there is great store of flesh-meat, rice, millet, oranges and lemons. There is much ginger¹ in this land of which they make no use, save to eat it [quite green]. The men go naked, covering only their middles with cotton cloths. They do not sail to any ports, nor does anyone come to theirs, but they use their canoes for fishing along their own coast.

They are brown in colour and speak a tongue of their own, and they often are at war one against the other. Their weapons are assegais, very slender for throwing, with well-worked iron heads. Each man carries a sheaf of them in his hand for throwing. They are very active men and clever wrestlers. They use base silver among themselves. Yams² are their principal food. This land is fair and pleasant and abounds in streams with some indifferent large rivers. From the coast near Melynde the distance of this

¹ The early explorers were evidently disappointed in not finding abundance of spices in this island, ginger being the only product of value. Linschoten also observes (II, 80): "There is also some (ginger) found in the Islands of S. Laurence and Comaro."

² *Yams*. Here the Spanish version has (in St., p. 14) "Yname, and in the Indies of Spain it is called maize." [Yname (read Yflame) in Portuguese Inhame. Root in the form of a gourd composed of two bulbs, which grow one above the other, the larger one below the smaller one. It is cut into slices and eaten instead of bread. It throws out very large leaves without fruit. The Ancients erroneously called it Fava Ægyptia, others have called it Arum Egyptium, which Bahuino in his *Historia Universal das Plantas* does not approve of. Bluteau, *Dict.*, Coimbra, 1713. Iñame. Genus of monocotyledonous plants of the family of the dioscoreas. *Dico. Encyclopédico*, Madrid, 1855. The "maize" mentioned in the text must be a mistake of the author or the translators; it should be yams.—St.]

The author is not responsible for the blunder, as it is not in the Portuguese text. Ramusio gives still another version. "It is said that in the new Spanish Indies it is called *iucca* and *battata*," which is nearly as unfortunate an explanation as the "maize" of the Spanish version.

island is [about] three hundred leagues, and from the mainland the distance may be seventy leagues.¹

§ 14. PEMBA, MAMFIA AND ZINZIBAR.²

BETWEEN this island of Saõ Lourenço and the mainland [not very far therefrom] are three islands, one

¹ Dr. J. Denucé, in his work quoted above on p. 24, n. 2 alludes to Reinél's map of 1517 preserved at Munich, showing Madagascar and the coast of East Africa as far as Ethiopia (*i.e.*, the Gardafui peninsula), and adds, "The few designations along the coast are also found with two exceptions in the narrative of Odoarte Barbosa." The map is given in his plate iii.

This can only apply to the African coast, as Barbosa gives no list of names on Madagascar. The names on the map read as follows (beginning with Mamfya) :

Mamfya
Zanzibar
Penda

Then on the mainland :

Mombaça
Birb-vala (?)
Tachazygo
Milydy (*i.e.* Milydy)

Opadram (*i.e.* O padrão, no doubt the padrão erected by V. da Gama).

baia fermosa

Pata

brada

Zarzeyla

Cabo da Gardafu.

Dr. Denucé reads it as above but gives in addition "*barra booa*" between *pata* and *brada*, and begins with Milydy, omitting Mombaça and the two following names. Barbosa's list is as follows for the mainland :

Mombaça
Melindi
Patee e Lemon
Brava
Magadoxo
Afum

Cabo de Guardafuy.

The correspondence therefore is not so close as Dr. Denucé thinks.

² [Penda and Zenzibar, Ortelius.]

The country first known as Zang, Zing and Zingibar, and afterwards (as the Arabic *jim* lost the sound of *g*) as Zanj, Zinj, Zinjibar and Zanzibar, comprised the whole east coast of Africa from a little south of Cape Guardafui to Sofala. The island of Zanzibar or Zinjibar was not at first specially important. The three islands of Zanzibar, Pemba and Mafia are probably the islands of the Zānij or Zāng mentioned by Idrisi (*Jaubert*, I, p. 65). Pemba bears its modern name in the Portuguese version of Barbosa, but in the Spanish version (with which as usual

called Mamfia, another Pemba, another Zinzibar; which are inhabited by Moors. They have great store of food, for in them are found rice, millet, flesh-meat in great quantity, oranges, limes and citrons (of which the woods are full), and every other kind of fruit. There is great plenty of sugar-cane, but they know not how to make the sugar. These islands have Moorish kings. Some of them deal in their stock of flesh and fruit with the mainland in very small, weak, ill-found and undecked boats having but one mast. The planks are bound and sewn together with a cord they call *cairo*,¹ and their sails are palm-leaf mats. They are a feeble folk and have but few weapons. The

Ribero's map of 1529 corresponds) it is called Penda. Marco Polo's allusion to Zanghibar as "an island of some 2,000 miles in compass" is, as Yule remarks, "simply an error," and has no special reference to the island of Zanzibar, but by the time of the Portuguese discoveries the island was undoubtedly known by this name. The last syllable is the Arabic *barr*, "land," and the form *Zangi barr* or *Zanjī barr* means Land of the Zang (or blacks). It is also possible that, as has been surmised, we have in this name a survival of the *Azania* of the *Periplus* (see Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 92) but it can hardly be possible that *Barr Ajan* of the Arabs is also from the same origin. *Barr Ajan* may be more probably referred to *Barr 'Ajam* or "Persian land" from the Persian settlements along this coast (see also Lyne's *Zanzibar*, p. 7). See however § 24, note 4. In Fra Mauro's map of 1459 Xengibar appears on the mainland and Chancibar as an island beyond the S.E. point of Africa (*Strandes*, p. 5).

A more certain reference is that of Cosmas Indicopleustes (in the sixth century), who speaks of the Zingī coast as subject to Abyssinia. He calls it Zingium, and says it is beyond "the country called Barbaria which produces frankincense" (McCrindle's *Cosmas*, H.S., p. 38).

The three islands are probably alluded to in the *Periplus* under the name of Menuthias, a name which, it has been conjectured, survives in Monfiya or Mafia, the Mamfia of Barbosa (see Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 94). It is remarkable that the author of the *Periplus* under this head alludes to the "sewed boats" and Barbosa also at the same place makes his first allusion to these boats.

¹ *Cairo*. The mention of "cairo" or cocoanut-fibre as used in sewing together the planks of boats is probably the earliest use of this term by a European writer, unless Correa's mention, quoted *s.v.* Coir in Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., is earlier. It is dated 1510 under Albuquerque's governorship, but this date refers rather to the events than to the date of the book. Correa did not go to India till 1512 and was still writing in 1566. His work was not published till modern times. The Portuguese had evidently learnt the term in India. They could not have obtained such a form from the Arabic

kings of these isles live in great luxury; they are clad in very fine silk and cotton garments, which they purchase at Mombaça from the Cambaya merchants. The women of these Moors go bravely decked, they wear many jewels of fine Çofala gold, silver too in plenty, earrings, necklaces, bangles and bracelets, and they go clad in good silk garments. They have many mosques, and honour greatly the Alcoran of Mafamede.¹

Ḳanbār, and Burnell has shown that *cairo* comes from the Malayālam *kāyar* (or Tamil *kayiru*).

The word appears in English in the form "cayro" in Ralph Fitch's narrative of his journeys (1583-91), which first appeared in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*. See Ryley, *Ralph Fitch*, 1899, p. 54, "a certain shippe made of boordes and sewed together with cayro, which is threede made of the husk of cocoes." The practice of sewing the planks together with this fibre was noted by several Arabic writers, the cord being called by them *ḳanbār* (see Yule and Burnell's article for quotations). The earlier European travellers Marco Polo, Fr. Odoric, Jordanus and Montecorvino all mention these sewed boats. See the Notes on the subject in Yule and Cordier's *Marco Polo*, I, p. 117, and *Cathay*, 2nd Ed., II, p. 113. At the present day Stigand (*Land of Zinj*, p. 146) notes that "cords and rigging are made of cocoa-nut fibre, or bast of trees."

¹ *Arab rule at Zanzibar*. The Portuguese by 1528 had obtained complete control over the coast of the mainland, and in this the islands were included. In 1698 their rule, which had long been decaying, was swept away for good by the 'Omān Sayyids who had extended their power thither after taking Maskat. Henceforward they continued to hold parts of the mainland as well as the islands till modern times. The Sayyids (generally known as Sultāns) still hold the islands of Pemba and Zanzibar under British protection. Mafia became part of German East Africa but fell into the hands of the English in 1914. It is immediately opposite the mouth of the Rufiji R. which has been identified with the Rapta of the *Periplus*, then the most southerly point known to the navigators of the Roman Empire. In 1915, this river was for a time the place of refuge for the raiding German cruiser *Königsberg*. The latest account of Mafia is that by Mr. Norman King in the *Geographical Journal* for August, 1917, pp. 117-125.

Zanzibar and Pemba are flourishing and fertile islands, and produce the greater part of the cloves of commerce. This plant was unknown there in Barbosa's time, and was introduced probably by the enterprising ruler Sayyid Sa'īd, from Réunion in the early part of the nineteenth century. Attempts to grow cloves in Mafia have not succeeded (*Geographical Journal*, August, 1917, p. 122).

See Lyne's *Zanzibar* (1905), p. 245f., and Stigand's *Land of Zinj* (1913), p. 138.

The principal ports of German East Africa which have become well-known during the wars of 1915-16 are on the part of the coast facing these islands, but none of those north of Kilwa or South of Mombasa are mentioned either by the Portuguese or by the Arabs before them.

§ 15. PATEE AND LEMON.¹

AND as soon as they pass Melinde, going towards India, they begin to cross the gulf, for the coast doubles back towards the Red Sea.

Going forward along this coast is a town of Moqrs named Patee and then another named Lemon. These carry on trade with the inland country, and are well walled with stone and mortar, inasmuch as they are often at war with the Heathen of the mainland.²

¹ These islands belong to the Lamu archipelago, and lie off the coast of the Sultanat of Witū, which has been a British protectorate since 1895. The principal islands of the group are three, Lāmū, Manda and Paté (or Patta), which are separated from the mainland and from one another by narrow channels overgrown with mangroves. Lāmū is the most southerly, although Barbosa, describing the route from the South, mentions Paté first. He shows no personal acquaintance with this neighbourhood, and probably passed these islands without landing. His first paragraph, about the land turning in towards the Red Sea, does not apply to any part of the coast until Cape Guardafui is reached.

There are remains of Persian buildings and a Portuguese and Arab fort in old Lāmū. The town of Paté, though nearly deserted, contains the remains of many buildings and Arabic inscriptions of 930 and 1024 A.H. The town of Ampaza, or Fasa, often mentioned in Portuguese records, is in the island of Manda.

There are said to be traces of Persian and Portuguese blood among the people. Lāmū is called in Swahili Amu, and the name is said to be derived from the Banī Lāmī, a tribe in the Persian Gulf. Paté is in *Ar. Balta*, and is believed to get its name from the Batawa tribe.

Lāmū is the only place in the archipelago with good water, all the rest being brackish.

These islands depended for their prosperity on the slave trade, and are now decaying. Their trade seems never to have been very considerable (see Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, 1913, Ch. viii).

² The first visit paid to these islands by the Portuguese was that of V. da Gama on his return voyage from India in 1499. He was attacked by a number of boats off Paté, but put them to flight (*Roteiro*, p. 102). The coast was first explored by Tristão d'Acunha in 1506, during the expedition sent to occupy Socotra. Lāmū submitted to him. He had already sacked the town of Oja (not mentioned by Barbosa), a rival of Malindi, which, according to De Barros, was seventeen leagues from Malindi and fifteen from Lāmū. This place may probably be identified with Ozi on the northern mouth of the Tana River.

It is clear from his mention of the mainland that Barbosa knew that Lāmū and Patta were islands, yet as late as Linschoten's time they are shown in maps on the mainland.

§ 16. OF THE CITY OF BRAVA.¹

YET further along the coast, beyond these places, is a great town of Moors, of very fine stone and mortar houses, called Brava. It has no king, but is ruled by elders, and ancients of the land, who are the persons held in the highest esteem, and who have the chief dealings in merchandise of divers kinds.² And this place was destroyed by the Portuguese, who slew many of its people and carried many into captivity, and took great spoil of gold and silver and goods. Thenceforth many of them fled away towards the inland country, forsaking the town; yet after it had been destroyed the Portuguese again settled and peopled it, "so that now it is as prosperous as it was before."³

¹ Brava, the Ar. *Barāwa*, is situated a little north of the Juba R. (Lat. 1° N., Long 44° E.) in what is now the Italian Protectorate. It is not mentioned by any of the early Arab travellers or chroniclers, who recognize no settlements between Makdashau and Malindi. It was, however, evidently an important town when the Portuguese appeared on the scene.

² The attack on it mentioned by Barbosa was that of Tristão d'Acunha, who proceeded thither after sacking Oja, and demanded payment of the tribute promised to Saldanha in 1503, by certain chief men of the town whom he had captured off Malindi. This had been repudiated, and payment was refused. Brava was reduced after a brave defence and a great slaughter, and as de Barros says it "lost the name of Brava (wild) and was left as tame (*mansa*) as a body without a soul of resistance." The *Commentaries of Af. D'Albuquerque* (who took part in the attack) call the town Braboa, and the town of Oja of De Barros (see above) is called Angoja, apparently by confusion with Angoxa.

This confusion will be found reflected in Danvers (*Portuguese in India*, I, p. 152), where "Angoxa" and Braboa are supposed to be near Sofala. The identity of Braboa with Brava (already noted on p. 104 of the same work) was passed over.

(See De Barros, *Dec. II*, Bk. i, Ch. 2, and Birch's *Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque*, Vol. I, Ch. xiii and xiv. H.S.)

³ In Ribero's map Brava figures twice, first as Braua and further to the North-east as Brada. This is the first instance of the practice of re-duplicating names of which many instances occur further on.

§ 17. MAGADOXO.

PROCEEDING coastwise towards the Red Sea there is a very great Moorish town called Magadoxo¹; it has a king over it; the place has much trade in divers kinds, by reason whereof many ships come hither from the great kingdom of Cambaya, bringing great plenty of cloths of many sorts, and divers other wares, also spices: and in the same way they come from Adem. And they carry away much gold, ivory, wax and many other things, whereby they make exceeding great profits in their dealings.

In this country is found flesh-meat in great plenty, wheat, barley, horses and fruit of divers kinds, so that it is a place of great wealth.

They speak Arabic. The men are for the most part brown and black, but a few are fair. They have but few weapons, yet they use herbs on their arrows to defend themselves against their enemies.

¹ The town of Makdashau (مقدشو) was probably the first important settlement made by the Arab traders when they began to push southwards along the East Coast of Africa from Cape Guardafui. Although it is not mentioned by Mas'udi or Idrisi, it was found by Ibn Batūta (II, 180) in the early part of the fourteenth century, to be a wealthy and important place under a Sultān, who was, however, locally known as sheikh. No doubt the gradual southern extension of the Arabs deprived it of its importance as an outpost of trade. The predominance of the darker element in the population, the lack of weapons, and the use of poisoned arrows, all point to the gradual absorption of the Arab element in the African. Nevertheless Vasco da Gama, who arrived here on his return from Calicut in 1499, found it according to the *Roteiro* (p. 102) a fortified town with fine houses. Cabral (*Navegação*, Ed. 1867, p. 116) describes it in 1500 as "a very rich and beautiful town of Moors," but does not seem to have landed. Tristão d'Acunha passed it without landing in 1506, being eager to arrive at Socotra after his fighting at Brava. The Portuguese rule was never consolidated as far north as Magadoxo. It fell into the hands of the Turkish-raider 'Alī Bey in 1586, but Turkish rule did not last long. Sayyid Sa'īd of Maskat took possession of it in 1828, and the town continued to form part of the Maskat and Zanzibar dominion till modern times. It is now included in the Italian sphere of influence. (See Stigand, *The Land of Zinj*, 1913.) The spelling of the name at the present day varies. Mukadisho, the form given by Capt. Stigand,

§ 18. AFUM.

BEYOND this place and town of Magadoxo, further along the coast, is a small Moorish village called Afum,¹ in which is much flesh-meat and food. The place, as I have said, is small, with little trade and no harbour.

§ 19. THE CAPE OF GUARDAFUY.

FURTHER on along the coast, beyond this place Afum, is the Cape of Guardafuy,² from which the coast folds

seems to represent the present pronunciation [see also the article Magadoxo, in Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson* (Crooke's edition)].

The confusion between Magadoxo and Madagascar in *Marco Polo* has already been referred to under § 13, p. 24 n. 2.

[The river of this place is called Mccadesso in the German atlas, which shows the Arabic origin of the name; in Ortelius Magadozo.—St.]

¹ The name Afum undoubtedly represents the Arabic name Hafūn, which probably represents the Ὠφνῆ of the *Periplus* (see below under Guardafui). The Spanish version of Barbosa gives the form Afuni, and Ribero's map of 1529 has the form Affuni, reduplicated in the same map as Ofoni. Ramusio has the same form as the Portuguese.

[Orfuni in Atlas of 1753.—St.]

² The Cape of Guardafui has been known under various names to travellers to the east from the earliest times. It may be identified without doubt with the Ἀρωματῶν ἀποθήκη of Ptolemy and the *Periplus*, at or near which was the "emporium" for spices alluded to in the latter work. Strabo (Bk. xvi, Ch. iv, Sec. 14) calls it the Southern Horn, (ὠροῦν κέρας). It was the limit of his knowledge of the African coast. The modern Arabic name is Rās Asfr. The name Guardafui seems to have been first used by the Portuguese, and belongs properly, not to the cape itself, but to a promontory sixty miles south of it, called by the Arabs Rās Hafūn or Jard-Hafūn. The name Hafūn, the Ὠφνῆ of the *Periplus*, is still borne by the village of Hafūn described by Barbosa in § 18; and it is most probable that this name applied originally to the whole coast, and not to any special spot. Jard-Hafūn was no doubt originally Gard-Hafūn, following the well-known rule by which the *g*-sound of the Arabic ج has become *j*, except in Egypt, and some other African districts. So far there is a general agreement, but the origin and meaning of the word *jard* or *gard* has been the subject of much discussion. Reference may be made to the articles Guardafui in Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson* and in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, also to Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 85. There seems to be no Arabic word which gives any meaning corresponding to "cape" or "turning point."

One possible explanation which has, I believe, not been suggested by any writer on the subject, is that the word is Persian and not Arabic. The expedition sent by Khusrāu Anōshīrvān along the coast of Hadhramaut to Aden, to re-establish a Himyarite prince in A.D. 576, shows that the Persians under the Sassanian kings were accustomed to

backwards towards the Red Sea. It is at the mouth of of the Strait of Meca, so that as many ships as come from India and from the kingdom of Cambaya, and from Chaul, Dabul, Batical ; from Malabar and all the coast of Bengala ; also from Ceilam, Malaqua, Çamatra, Pegu [Tanaçarī and China] ; all make for it, and enter it from this cape with much merchandize. Some of them go towards the city of Adem and Zeilam and Barborá ; and for these ships those of the King our Lord lie in wait at this spot and capture them with great booty, " and with all the goods they carry, inasmuch as they go thither contrary to the prohibition of His Highness."

§ 20. METEE.

As soon as the Cape of Guardafuy has been doubled, turning inwards towards the Red Sea, there is hard by a town of Moors which they call Metee¹ the Less. Here there is much flesh-meat, but it has no great trade.

§ 21. BARBORÁ.

BEYOND this town of Metee, and further inside the gulf, is a Moorish town which they call Barborá,² whither

navigate these waters (see Tabari's *Chronicle*, trans. Zotenberg, vol. II. pp. 210-215). *Gard* in Persian is a common word, meaning "turn," and the meaning of Gard-i-Hafūn would be "the turn or bend of Hafūn."

The name given in the Spanish version is Guardafun [Guardafun, Ortelius.—St.]

¹ In the Spanish version the name is given as Met.

[Met, Ortelius, and the Atlas of 1753.—St.]

Ribero's map (1529) gives Mete.

Modern maps show an island called Mait or Maid and a village of the same name on the coast east of Berbera, and this is probably Barbosa's Metee. Müller's map identifies this place with the Mundus of the *Periplus* where "ships lie at anchor more safely behind a projecting island close to the shore." Schoff however prefers to identify this place with Bandar Hais still nearer to Berbera.

² [Barbara, Ortelius.—St.]

The name Berbera was applied by the Arabs at an early time to the Southern Coast of the Gulf of Aden. This corresponds to the Barbaria

go many ships carrying much merchandize from Adem and Cambaya. They carry away thence much gold,¹ opium, ivory and divers other things. The merchants of Adem take much provender, flesh, honey and wax, for that land is exceeding fruitful. "This town was taken by force by a Portuguese fleet of which Antonio de Saldanha was Captain-in-Chief. He destroyed the whole place in the year 1518, and then departed with the fleet for Ormuz, where the ships which stood in need of it were repaired."²

of Cosmas Indicopleustes in the sixth century, "The country called Barbaria which begins where the land of the Ethiopians terminates" (*Cosmas*, H.S., p. 38).

According to Mas'ūdi, the Gulf of Aden is called the Gulf of the Berbers (*al-khalīja'l-Barburī*). He is careful to distinguish between its inhabitants and the Berbers of Western Africa, the modern Barbary (Sprenger's *Mas'ūdi*, p. 260). Ibn Batūta (II, 180), more than two centuries later, speaks of the Barbarah as a tribe of Negroes who were Muhammedans of the Shāfi'ī sect, whose territory extended from Zeila' to Makdashau. Idrisi says that it is subject to Abyssinia. The inhabitants were no doubt identical with the Somālis of the present day.

¹ The trade of Berbera has undoubtedly, owing to its favourable position, existed from the earliest times. Burton (*First Footsteps in East Africa*, p. 407) pointed out the advantages derived from the spit of land running into the sea, and from the stream of fresh water flowing into the harbour, which caused it to be a centre of the coasting trade with a great periodical fair. Schoff considers that the spit running into the sea affords a good ground for identifying Berbera with the Malaō mentioned in § 8 of the *Periplus*, and properly rejects Glaser's identification with Bulhar thirty miles further west, which has only an open harbour.

Vincent had proposed to identify Malaō with Malaca and the same suggestion had long before been made by de Barros (*Dec. III*, i, fol. 24), no doubt in both cases owing to the resemblance of the names.

² After the destruction of Zeila', in 1517, Lopo Soares d'Albergaria had intended to attack Berbera also, but owing to the heavy losses he had incurred, he was not able to do so. Next year (1518) Antonio de Saldanha was sent from Portugal with a fleet in order to attack the Arabs at the entrance of the Red Sea. L. Soares d'Albergaria, who had now become Governor of India, sent Saldanha to the Gulf of Aden with six ships, and he took Berbera without resistance. These events are related in full by de Barros in *Dec. III*, i, Cap. 10. He distinctly states that these events took place the year after the taking of Zeila', but as Saldanha did not arrive in India till September 1517, and was not despatched to the Red Sea until after the return of Lopo Soares from Hurmuz, which was not till a month or two later, it is probable that his

§ 22. ZEILA.

FURTHER on thence along the coast, in the inner part (*i.e.*, of the Gulf), is a Moorish town which they call Zeila,¹ a place of great traffic. Hither sail many ships to dispose of their goods. It is a well-built place with right good houses, many of them built of stone and mortar with flat roofs. The people thereof, both men and women, are black for the most part; they have many horses and rear much cattle of all kinds, so that they have butter in plenty, milk and flesh: also in this land is great store of wheat, millet, barley and fruits of divers sorts, all of which they carry hence to Adem.

This place² was taken and destroyed by the Portuguese, of whom the Captain-in-Chief was Lopo Soares

attack on Berbera was really in the beginning of 1518. He arrived in Hurmuz in time to "winter" there, *i.e.*, to take shelter during the monsoon of 1518 after his expedition to Berbera and Kalhāt (see Note under § 22).

De Barros describes Berbera as follows: "This city, though not so noble as Zeila, which is eighteen leagues north of it, is like it in the style of its buildings and the manners of its people."

We hear very little in later times of either Berbera or Zeila, and the Portuguese were, in fact, unable to hold possession of these and other places in or near the Red Sea after the conquest of Egypt by the Turkish Sultan Selim in A.D. 1517.

¹ Zeila is the Arabic Zayla زَيْلَا. According to Ibn Baṭṭā (ii, 180) it was at the time of his visit (circ. 1315 A.D.) the capital of the Berbera.

² It was taken and burnt by Lopo Soares d'Albergaria on his return from his expedition against Jeddā (Juda of the text). His losses in this disastrous affair were aggravated by the disease which attacked his crews during his stay in the fever-smitten island of Kamarān.

The dates of the taking of Zeila and Berbera have been given by the editors of the Portuguese text (see p. lxxxiv) as 1517 and 1518, instead of 1516 and 1518. It is probable, however, that the passages mentioning these events were added after the completion of Duarte Barbosa's work and the writing of his preface in 1516 (although there can be no certainty of the correctness of this date). They do not occur in Ramusio nor in the Spanish version. The passage at the end of the account of Maçua (§ 24) in which Barbosa asserts that he was present at the taking of Zeila is also not found in Ramusio or the Spanish version. As to the discrepancy regarding the dates of this period see note on pp. lxxxiv-v.

(d'Albergaria), who was at that time Governor of India, and he took it on his way from the port of Juda in the year 1517.

§ 23. DALAQUA.

FURTHER on beyond this place along the coast is another called Dalaqua¹ also a seaport, used mainly by the Abexys² of the land of the Preste Joam. Around this place is great plenty of victual, and much gold which comes from the Preste.

§ 24. MAÇUA.

HENCE, leaving this place Dalaqua and entering the Red Sea,³ we travel along the coast to a place which they call Maçua and many other settlements of Moors, by whom this coast is named Barayam⁴ but we call

¹ Dalaqua is the name given to the archipelago near Massowa and the entrance to the Annesley Gulf. The principal island of this group is called Dhalāk-al-Kabīr, *i.e.*, Great Dhalāk. These islands are the Alalaci of the *Periplus* which describes them as sandy islands producing tortoise-shell. The Orīnē of the *Periplus* which Schoff translates Mountain Island forms part of the same group. [Dalacca, Ortelius].

² Abexys, in Arabic *Habshī*, *i.e.*, Abyssinian. The name of the Preste Joam or the Priest John, usually written "Prester John," was at this time generally given by the Portuguese to the ruler of Abyssinia (see Dr. Badger's Note; *Varithema*, p. 63, N. 2).

³ Maçua or Massowah is the principal port of Abyssinia and is now an Italian possession. It is on the mainland, opposite the Dhalāk Islands, and outside the entrance of the Annesley Gulf. The ancient port called Adulis in the *Periplus* and Adule by Cosmas Indicopleustes has been identified by Bent with the modern village of Zula, which lies inside the Gulf on its west coast. Its ruins are still visible. (Bent, *Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, p. 228).

⁴ The spelling given in the Spanish version is Barra Ajan, and on this the note made by Lord Stanley is

[Berr Ajem. The spelling of this name is a proof that the Spanish *j* still had the value of the English *j* and the Arabic *jim*].

With regard to this it may be remarked that the Portuguese spelling Barayam does not support this argument, nor is it probable that the maker of the Spanish version was acquainted with the Arabic pronunciation of the name. If the sound was a *y* as appears probable it

it Arabia Felix "on account of the Monte Felix which is therein, on which stood in ancient days a famous City which they called Felix, but it is long since left desolate, and no man now dwells therein."

And throughout this coast¹ there is great store of gold which comes thither from within the great kingdom of Abexy, which is the land of the Preste Joam: and all the places on this coast have dealings with the inland country in cloth and other wares, bringing thence great store of gold, ivory, honey, wax and slaves. The inland folk are Christians, many of whom are held in captivity; and these captives are held in great esteem among the Moors,² and are worth much more among than any other slaves soever; for they find them skilful and faithful and fine men in their persons. And as soon as these Abexys are taken by the Moors they turn from their faith and afterwards come to be more employed

would seem more likely that the name represented Barr Yaman; the land of Yaman or Yemen. The country called by the name was evidently on the Arabian and not the African side of the Red Sea, as the allusion to Arabia Felix proves.

The phrase Barr 'Ajam may mean "Persian land," or simply "Non-Arab land," and Burton tells us that the Somâlis called their country Barr-al-'ajam, that is Country of the Barbarians. Possibly both forms Barr Yaman and Barr 'Ajam had been heard by Barbosa and confounded one with the other, for the whole passage shows confusion between the Arabian and African coasts. See *Commentaries of Afonso D'Albuquerque* (iv, 28), as to an Arabic name for the Red Sea coast under the Preste João. "On one side stretches the territory of the Preste João called Jazem by the Moors, and on the other the mainland of Arabia."

The Portuguese generally represented the Arabic *j* by their own *j* (identical with the French sound of the letter); as in *Juda* for *Jiddah* or in the spelling of *Camões* "Gida" where the *g* has the same sound.

The old Arabic sound of *jim* as a hard *g* may however still have been heard occasionally in Arabia as it still is in Egypt. See § 29, note 1.

¹ The trade in gold on this coast was probably not very important, as it is not mentioned in the *Periplus*. Ivory seems to have been from the earliest times the principal production of the district.

² For the value placed on the Abyssinian captives taken in childhood and trained to war see *Varthema's Travels*, pp. 63, 64. He says that the Sultan of Aden had a corps of three thousand of them who formed his own bodyguard, "and were worth more than all the rest of the eighty thousand."

than the Moors themselves. And all these people of Arabia Felix,¹ men and women alike, are black and good fighters; they go naked from the waist up, and below it are clad in cotton. Those of the highest rank among them wear long cloaks like Moorish *almaizares* and their women are covered with other long garments which they call *chandes*.²

In this land the custom is to sew up the private parts of girls when they are born, and thus they continue until they are married and made over to their husbands then they cut the flesh again which is as firmly joined together as if they had been born so. "This I have myself observed, for I was present at the taking of

¹ [This refers to the Sawahily of Abyssinia, not to the people of Arabia, and applies to them.—St.]

The title of this section in the Spanish version is "Masava Savaquin and other places"; Savaquin stands for Sawākin, which the Portuguese version does not mention. This corresponds with Ribero's map, which after Delaca (Dalaqua) gives the following places following the coast Northwards:

Macuia
Mocuna or Mocuua
Cauaquy
Y^a delaca
Mucua
Cuaquem

All the places are reduplicated, and Massowa appears three times in varying forms. Cavaquy seems to be from a Spanish and Cuaquem from a Portuguese source.

² Almaizares is stated by Dozy (*Glossaire des Mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'Arabe*, p. 147) to represent the Ar. *Al-mi'zar*, and to mean "espèce de touque ou voile." The Spanish version has "Almalafas" on which Lord Stanley has this note

[Al malafa, a cloak, plaid, Old Spanish, not in dictionaries, from Arabic.]

Almalafa is explained by Dozy as "ropa que se ponía sobre todo el demás vestido y comunmente era de lino," i.e., "a garment worn over all other clothing, usually of linen." He derives it from the Ar. *Al-malhafa*, a woman's veil (or *burqa*). Cf. also the form *milaff*, a wrap or blanket, given in Richardson's Arabic Dictionary. Al-milaff would perhaps be a more probable origin for Almalafa than that given by Dozy.

³ *Chande*, the name given by Barbosa in the Portuguese (not in the Spanish version) to the long garment worn by women, appears to have no origin in Arabic. Probably it is the Indian "*Chadar*" learnt by Barbosa on the Indian coast. The meaning suits perfectly.

Zeila, which I have already mentioned, and there we took many female children whom we found so."¹

§ 25. THE GREAT REALM OF THE PRESTE JOAM.

TRAVELLING inland from the position of these same Moorish towns there is a very great realm, that of the Preste Joam,² which the Moors call Abexy.³ It is very widespread and abounds in fair lands: in it dwell

¹ The curious custom here alluded to is still practised by the Hamitic-Semitic tribes in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea. For a full account of this and kindred customs reference may be made to Dr. C. G. Seligmann's paper in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1913, p. 639 ff.

Barbosa's accuracy is confirmed by modern observers, and this is undoubtedly the earliest information we have on the subject. His only mistake seems to be that the operation is not performed in infancy but at the age of six or seven years.

This passage and others (alluded to by the Portuguese editors as probably added by another hand after the completion of the manuscript) seem to have been added by Duarte Barbosa himself on a revision, perhaps on a copy which he kept by him before he sailed with Magalhães on his last voyage in 1519. For the confusion as to dates see Introduction, p. lxxxiv, n. 1.

² The name of Preste Joam, or the Priest John, given by the Portuguese travellers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to the ruler of Abyssinia, is better known under the form Prester John, or Presbyter Johannes, applied to a semi-mythical Christian king in Central Asia at an earlier period. The earlier beliefs are reflected in Marco Polo's narrative, Chaps. xlvii to l, and an exhaustive note on the subject by Sir Henry Yule is given in his *Book of Marco Polo*, I, p. 205, N. 3 (M. Cordier's ed., I, p. 231, N. 4). As the knowledge in Europe of Central Asia, to which Marco Polo himself mainly contributed, became more accurate, this legend gradually died away, but the fact that there really was a Christian king in Africa, whose country was surrounded by Muhammadans, became better known and the name of John the Priest was transferred to him. Indeed Sir H. Yule in the note mentioned above considered it possible that this title had been first applied to the King of Abyssinia, and that the letter of Pope Alexander III in 1177 A.D. to the *Magnificus Rex Indorum* was really meant for him. Whether this was so or not the applicability of the name to Abyssinia is evident. Marco Polo had only heard of it in connection with Aung Khân, who was overthrown by Chingiz Khân, and does not refer to it in his account of Abyssinia, or Abasce. (Yule and Cordier's *Marco Polo*, II, p. 427).

³ Abexy (like the Abasce of Marco Polo) represents the Arabic form *Habashi* the adjective from *Habash*, which denotes the country of Abyssinia. The word in India has been extended to include all negroes, who are commonly known as *Habshi*.

much people, and he holds many kingdoms around subject to him, which are at his orders and under his governance. This country is well-peopled with many cities, towns and villages, and many of its people abide in the hill country like the wandering Arabs. They are black men with good figures, and they have horses in abundance which they use, and are good riders mountaineers and hunters. Their victual is [flesh of all kinds, milk] great store of butter, honey and wheater bread [also millet], of all which things there is great plenty in that land. They clothe themselves in skins [and fleeces of wethers], for the reason that cloth is scarce in that country, "chiefly in the mountains," where is, too, one class among them that can only wear [cloth on account of their rank, all the others wear nothing but]¹ skins, which they wear well dressed and embroidered. There are here also men and women who have never in their lives drunk aught but milk with which they quench their thirst, and this they do not for want of water, of which there is plenty in that land, but because milk makes them stouter and healthier, [and there is plenty of it in the land]. They have, too, the habit of eating much honey, and have great store thereof, yet those who have the habit of eating it are mostly the mountain-dwellers. All are by descent Christians from the time of the teaching of the Blessed Saint Thomas,² [and Saint Philip] as they say ; and their baptism is in three ways, the first blood,

¹ This passage from Ramusio is not correctly given in the Portuguese text. It should read "and the custom among them is that only persons of a certain rank [may wear cloth, and other persons] may wear nothing but skins."

² *St. Thomas*. Marco Polo (*l.c.* p. 427) says "St. Thomas the apostle preached in this region, and after he had converted the people he went away to the province of Maabar, where he died." See below under Mailapur (§ 99).

the next fire, and the third water like ours: by that of fire they are branded on the forehead and temples¹; by that of water they are baptised in it as with us; by that of blood many of them are circumcized. They lack our true faith because their land is very wide, and they live in the mountains remote from towns and villages. The most genuine Christianity among them is in a great city called Babelmaleque,² where the King, whom we call the Preste Joam, always lives.³ The Moors call him "the Great Abexy." In this city⁴ on our Lady's day in August there is a great yearly feast, where great multitudes assemble, and to which come many kings and great lords. And on that day they draw out an image from a church, as to which image "we know not whether it is" of our Lady "or of S. Bartholomew." It is of gold, of the stature of a man; "its eyes are two rubies of inestimable value," and its body is arrayed in gems without number. This image is placed on a golden waggon and they accompany it with great reverence and ceremony. In front rides the Preste Joam in another waggon plated with gold, very richly attired in rich cloth of gold and adorned with precious gems.⁵ Their setting

¹ The practice of branding on the face is mentioned by Marco Polo (*l.c.* p. 427), but according to him it was not a separate rite. After baptism with water he says that the face and cheeks were branded. There seems good ground for believing that such branding did take place, but that it was (and perhaps still is) a survival of a pre-Christian custom, and has nothing to do with baptism. See Yule's note (*l.c.* p. 232).

² Babelmaleque is simply the Arabic *Bāb-el-Malik*, the "King's Court," i.e., the Capital [Babel Mandel, Ortelius, St.].

The name Babel Mandel, however, refers to the straits of Babel-Mandab, and not to the capital of Abyssinia, which, it is distinctly stated, was in the interior. Here Ramusio has Cassumo; i.e., Axum.

³ Here Ramusio has "whom the Moors and Heathen call the Great King Neguz."

⁴ Ramusio reads: "In this city in the month of September a very great Feast of the Cross is held."

⁵ Ramusio adds: "And on that day he lets himself be seen by all the people, for at other times he goes with his face covered."

forth is in this manner. In the morning they go to the aforesaid city in a solemn procession, with divers sorts of music and with great rejoicing, until the afternoon, when they return in the same order. There is such a crush of people that many in striving to approach the car of the image perish of suffocation, and this death they hold among themselves to be holy and that of a martyr,¹ "and for this reason many old men and women and other persons go gladly to receive this death. This King the Preste Joam² is exceeding rich, and has abundance of gold, insomuch that up to our time we know of no other King equal to him in this respect: and as I have said, he takes with him a great and splendid court, and he pays the great train of people by whom he is continually attended, through whose help he subdues the neighbouring kings as I have already stated."

§ 26. QUES.³

LEAVING this land of the Preste Joam and also the coast of Arabia Felix⁴ and turning to the other side of

¹ Ramusio adds: "This was reported to me by divers Moors, whom I know not whether I should believe; but as it may be so I have written it down."

² This passage was apparently omitted by Ramusio, as he had heard contrary reports at the time he made his translation or paraphrase. It is however well attested that in Barbosa's time Abyssinia was a country of great wealth and prosperity. It was ruined by the invasions and raids of the Imām Ahmad from 1528 to 1543, and was only saved from absolute destruction by the band of Portuguese under Christovão da Gama, who himself lost his life in the struggle. Imām Ahmad was killed in the end and his force defeated by the remnant of the Portuguese. The whole story is given in Mr. Whiteway's edition of Castanhoso's Narrative (*The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia*. Hakluyt Society, 1902).

³ Suez is the spelling followed in the Spanish version. [Zues, Ortelius].

⁴ The confusion between Arabia Felix and this African coast continues. The Spanish version reads "the coast of the sea of Arabia Felix," and for Baraym reads "Barra Arab."

the Red Sea (which also they call Arabia, and which the Moors call Barayam); there is a seaport which is called Çues,¹ whither the Moors were wont to bring all the spices, drugs and other rich wares from Juda, the port of Meca, which came thither from India. These they carried from Juda in very small craft, and then loaded them on camels, and carried them by land to Cayro, whence other traders took them to Alexandria, and there they were bought by the Venetians; which trade has been destroyed by the King our Lord,² for

¹ This part of the narrative in the Portuguese text is throughout in the imperfect tense. It was Barbosa's intention to describe the trade as no longer existing. In the version of the Spanish text it appears in the present tense. The object of the Spanish version here seems to have been to minimize the success of the Portuguese in stopping the trade, as it adds "this trade now, in a great measure, ceases," whereas Barbosa says it is destroyed or "undone" (*desfeito*).

² [Camoens thus describes the interruption by the Portuguese of the Indian voyages to the Red Sea. Canto ix, Stanzas 3 and 4 :—

Gidá se chama o porto, aonde o trato
De todo o Roxo Mar mais florescia,
De que tinha proveito grande e grato
O Soldão que esse reino possuia.
Daqui os Malabares, por contrato
Dos infieis formosa companhia
De grandes náos pelo Indico Oceano
Especiaria vem buscar cadâ anno.
"Por estas náos os Mouros esperavam,
Que, como fossem grandes e possantes,
Aquellas, que o commercio lhe tomavam
Com flammas abrazassem crepitantes :
Neste socorro tanto confiavam,
Que já não querem mais dos navegantes
Senão que tanto tempo alli tardassem
Que da famosa Meca as náos chegassem."

and Canto x, Stanza 50 :—

Barborá se teme
Do mal que o emporio Zeila geme.—St.]

These passages are thus translated by Aubertin :—

Gidá the port is called where all the trade
Of the Red Sea the most did flourish; wher
Soldan the chief, who all that region swayed,
Was wont to reap a gain pleasant and rare.
Thence to the Malabars, by contract made
With the infidels, a concourse doth repair
Of mighty vessels by the Indian sea,
Coming each year in search of spicery.

his fleets took the ships of the Moors so that they should not pass from India to the Red Sea.¹ Wherefore the Great Soldan of Cayro, who loses much by this, ordered a great fleet to be fitted out in this port of Çues, for which the timber and artillery and all other munitions of war were brought by land, great sums being spent thercon. And this fleet was made up in great haste of sailing-ships and rowing-galleys, and as soon as it was ready it went to the First India, that is to the Kingdom of Cambaya, Mirocem going as its Captain-in-Chief, with the determination to deprive the Portuguese of the navigation. It met the fleet of the King our Lord, before Diu, where they fought so stoutly that men were

By these same ships the Moors their prospects seal,
 Seeing their strength was all they could desire,
 That those that there had come their trade to steal
 Might all be burned with crackling flames of fire.
 And of this aid so certain do they feel,
 That of the strangers they no more require
 Than their delay among them to contrive
 Till from famed Mecca all these ships arrive.

and,

Barbora terror owns
 Of ill 'neath which the mart of Zeila groans..

¹ In this passage Barbosa gives in concise language the history of the causes of the naval war in the Indian Ocean between the Portuguese and the Musalmans. It was primarily a struggle for the trade of the Orient. Until the Portuguese appeared in these seas the Arab sailors and merchants had a monopoly of the trade by sea, and the land-routes through Persia and Central Asia were commanded by the Turks. As the Turkish power increased both these systems came under their power. The final overthrow of the Mamlūk Sultān of Egypt and Syria (the great Soldan of Cayro) by Sultān Salīm in A.D. 1517, handed over the naval power hitherto exercised by the rulers of Egypt to the Turks. All the actions mentioned by Barbosa in the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf were fought previous to that date, and the enemy the Portuguese had to fight against was the Egyptian fleet under Mirocem (Mir Husain) (Agacem or Agha Husain according to Correa), which was allied with the fleet of the Muhammadan kings of Gujarāt or Cambaya. It is clear, therefore, that this was far more than a trade war. It struck at the roots of Musalman supremacy in the Mediterranean, and as the Turks gradually concentrated that authority in their hands, and swept that sea with the fleets commanded by renegade corsairs (for they were no sailors themselves), the very foundations of that power were being sapped, and the trade on which they depended slipped from their hands and passed safely round the Cape to Europe.

wounded and slain on both sides, so that in the end the Moors were overcome, and their ships taken, and burnt and sunk. Through this action and many others which took place afterwards the navigation of the Red Sea fell off, and the Port of Çues was left with no trade in spices, and is now much decayed and well-nigh deserted.

§ 27. THE MOUNT SINAY.

HARD by, not far from Çues in this same land of Arabya, on the Red Sea, is the Mount Sinay¹ where rests the body of the Blessed Saint Catherine, in a church where there are some Christian friars in the power of the Moors, and under the might and orders of the great Soldan. To this house go on pilgrimage many Christians from the land of the Preste Joam, also from Babylonia, Armenia, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Roma Alamanha and Napoles, and from many other parts.

§ 28. ELIOBOM AND MEDINA.

[PASSING the said Mount Sinay, which the Moors call Turla,² further along the Coast of the Red Sea, is a land of the Moors, a seaport called Eliobom³; at

¹ It is evident that Barbosa had no personal knowledge of Mount Sinai, and the only fact about it which he had ascertained was the existence of a convent where St. Catherine of Alexandria was buried and which was a great resort for pilgrims.

The Mount Sinai group of mountains contains several peaks, the highest of which, Jebel Katharin, is dedicated to St. Catherine. The peak of Mount Sinai proper lies just north of it. Jebel Tūr is a name for the whole group, access to which from the sea is obtained at Tūr on the Gulf of Suez, visited by De Castro's expedition in 1541.

² Turla represents Jebel Tūr. See under § 27.

³ Eliobom stands for El-Yambū, that is the port of Yembo with the Arabic article prefixed to the name. Such importance as it had and has, it has obtained only from being the nearest point to Medina, or Yathrib as it was called in pre-Islamite days. Both Yambū and

which they say they land in order to go to Medina, another Moorish city three days' journey inland from this port, where the body of Mafamede is buried.]

§ 29. JUDA, A SEAPORT.

[On coming forth from the said port of Eliobom in order to go along the Red Sea coast, there is a Moorish country named Juda,¹ a seaport whither every year ships from India were accustomed to go with spices

Yathrib are to be traced in Ptolemy, who speaks of Iambia the port of Iathrippa or Lathrippa, i.e., Al-Yathrib. The *Periplus* passes by this part of the Red Sea Coast without mentioning any place.

Yathrib was no doubt a centre of caravan trade before it became a place of pilgrimage. It was one of the flourishing Jewish settlements of Hajjāz (see Lyall's *Ancient Arabian Poetry*, 1885, p. 119). The nearest port must therefore have always been a place with some trade.

[Eliobón, Atlas of Ortelius and Lambert or Yembo.—St.]

The author of the *Commentaries of Afonso D'Albuquerque* (iv, p. 35) calls Yembo Liumbo.

¹ The form Juda represents the old Arabic pronunciation as found in Ibn Batūta, who writes the name جده Juddah. The modern pronunciation is Jiddah, which had already been introduced in the sixteenth century as De Barros (*Dec. III*, Bk. i, Cap. 3) says that "Juddá is called Giddá by some Arabs." Camões also uses the form Gidá.

In the Spanish version the form given is Guida, which perhaps represents Giuda. This would be the Italian form of the Arabic Juddah and may have been adopted from Ramusio or other Italian writers, as Spanish has no sound approaching the Arabic *j*. It does not seem probable that it was intended by Guida to represent the *g*-sound of the Arabic *j*, as pronounced in Egypt. Varthema uses the spelling Zida (=Dzida). The name is popularly interpreted as equivalent to *jiddah*, "grandmother," and is supposed to be derived from the tomb of Eve, the universal grandmother, whose tomb is shown there. This was the case as far back as the sixteenth century, as De Barros (*l.c.*) says "they show outside the town a hill, on which they say Adam and Eve were buried." Varthema in his account of Jiddah a few years earlier says the town was not surrounded by walls in his time, but shortly afterwards, in the time of Al-Ashraf Kānsūh al-Ghōrī (the last Mamlūk Sultān but one), who reigned from 1501 to 1516, the still existing walls were built (see *Varthema*, p. 52, N. 2). They were however doubtlessly built before 1517, as in that year his successor was dethroned by the Turks. These walls are no doubt the "fort" alluded to in the next section as built by Mir Husain after his defeat by Francisco d'Almeida in 1509.

According to De Barros the work was going on at the same time as Afonso D'Albuquerque was building the fort at Calcut. The allusion in the next paragraph to Sultān Mahmūd Shah I of Gūjarāt, who died in 1511, narrows the possible period for these occurrences to 1509-1511.

and drugs, and thence went back to Calecut with much copper, quicksilver, verdegris, saffron, rosewater, scarlet cloth, silks, camlets, taffetas and divers other goods which are sent to India, also with much gold and silver; and this trade was great and lucrative. At this port of Juda they put the said drugs and spices on board small ships for Çuez, as has been related above.]

§ 30. MECA.

ONE day's journey inland from this port of Juda is the great city of Meca,¹ and there is a great mosque therein, whither Moors from all countries go on pilgrimage, for they hold it certain that they will be saved if they wash in the water of a certain well which is therein; and the water from this well they take in bottles to their own countries as a relic of great value.

A short time ago, Mirocem the Moorish Captain of the Soldan's ships, whom the Portuguese had defeated in India, ordered that a fort should be built at Juda, for after his defeat he had not the courage to return to his country without doing some service to his king, and so he determined to ask the King of Cambaya, who is called Soldão Mahomet,² as well as the princes and merchants of that kingdom, and the other Moorish kings, for a great sum of money to build the said fort; pointing out that since the Portuguese—Frangues, as they call them—were so powerful, it would be no

¹ Mecca is here very cursorily alluded to as a place of pilgrimage. The sacred well mentioned is the spring of Zemzem in the holy enclosed space round the Ka'aba.

² Soldão Mahomet is Sultān Mahmūd Shāh I of Gūjarāt, who reigned from 1458 to 1511, and is the Sultan Mahamude of § 47, the king "who lived on poison." At the time Barbosa wrote he had, as mentioned in that section, been succeeded by Sultom Moordafaa (Sultān Muzaffar Shāh 1511-1525).

wonder if they should enter this port and destroy the House of Mafoma. The Moorish Kings and people hearkening to his petition, and seeing the might of the King of Portugal, it seemed to them this might well happen, and for this cause they gave him great gifts, by means of which he loaded three ships with spices and other wares and sailed for the Red Sea. On arriving at Juda he sold these cargoes, and with this money he built the fort. While he was building it the Portuguese were constructing another inside the City of Calicut, the King of which asked permission of the Captain-in-Chief to send a cargo of spices to Meca. Permission was granted to him and he sent the ship, with a Moor of distinction named Califa as Captain; who when he reached Juda landed there with all his crew in good order. Mirocem, who was then building his fort, asked him for news of the Portuguese, to which he replied that they were peacefully established at Calicut and were building a great fort there.¹

¹ De Barros has related this story in his *Decadas* [*Dec. III*, Bk. i, Ch. 3 (fol. 6 of the edition of 1563)], as follows :

" . . . There is only one channel by which the city is approached, in the form of a letter S, the town being at its upper end and the entrance of the channel at the lower, . . . Part of the town has good stone and mortar houses, but most are of mud and clay; and a short time before, through fear of us, a wall around it had been begun. And in the first place on coming to the second elbow made by the land they had constructed a rampart on which some artillery was mounted to resist anyone who wished to go forward. Most of the inhabitants were merchants, by reason of the goods which there came together, both coming in and going out, the remainder were Arab natives of the land, and all dwelt in terror of the Baduijs (Bedāwi) of the open country; who sometimes suddenly entered the town and destroyed and robbed it, before it was fortified. This circumvallation was done by Mir Hôcem the captain of the Soldão whom Dom Francisco Dalmeida, Viceroy of India, had defeated at Dio . . . and as this defeat not only led to the fortification of this city, but also caused the Soldão to fit out another armada against us, which was that which was then there, it will be necessary to relate the whole story for the better understanding of the history. Mir Hôcem seeing that by his defeat at Dio he had been deprived of the state and power with which he had entered India (notwithstanding that he had done the Soldão great service in the death of

To this Mirocem replied, "How hast thou the boldness to come to Meca, being a friend of the Portuguese?" Califa answered him, saying, "I am a merchant and am powerless, but thou wast a Captain of the Great Soldão and hadst it in thy hands to turn them out of India. Why didst thou leave them there, and why art thou building a fort here?" At these words Mirocem was exceeding wrath, and compelled Califa then and there, well-clothed as he was, and all his crew with him, to carry stone and lime, and to help in the work, at which he made them toil for the space of an hour: all of which the said Califa related after he had returned to Calicut.]

Dom Lourenço and the action of Daibul, and was applauded by the Moors of India and Cairo as a warrior and Captain) did not dare to return thus to the presence of the Soldão. And being a prudent man and careful as to the means of restoring himself to favour, he thought that nothing would be more simple and easy than this, to pretend a virtuous zeal, a cloak to cover his own private interests, in this wise. In his intercourse with Melique Az (Malik Ayyāz) the Captain of Dio, and also with the King of Cambaya and other Captains of his, he had been led to believe that as our fleets commanded those seas it would not be difficult for us to enter the Red Sea and take the city of Juddá, a port very near, by which we could go to Mecha and thence to Medina to steal the body of their prophet and hold it in our possession in the same way as they hold Jerusalem, which is the home of our faith, the pilgrimage to which was one of the Soldão's principal revenues, and feeling that God had given him this chastisement in being defeated by us, for his service and that of his prophet Mahamed, he determined to build a wall around the city of Juddá, and set himself to carry out that work and defend it should we attempt to enter, and for this purpose he had at once to demand an order from the Soldão that officials should be sent to help him to execute the work. For this work by means of charitable contributions from the King of Cambaya, Malique Az and many other nobles he collected such an abundance of spices, cloth and other Cambaya goods as to lade three ships; all being given as offerings acceptable to God for the protection of the body of his Mahamed.

"When at last Mir Hôçem arrived at Juddá with these three ships, and accompanied by other ships belonging to merchants, he was received by all with great joy and festivity, for they knew what he proposed to do, and by the fortification of the town they would be safe not only from our fleets, but also from the Baduy Moors of the desert who were troubling them. And in order to make his peace with the Soldão he wrote to him at once, how the work was being taken in hand, not only with respect to the service of God but also to that of the Soldão himself, for when that city was walled it would be safe from us, who were masters of the seas

§ 31. JASAM, ALY, E ALHOR.¹

AFTER the port of Juda, along the coast of the Red Sea as far as the passage out of it, are many Moorish villages

and forts of India, and also from the Arabs of the Wilderness, and more especially it would be a yoke upon the town so that it should not rebel against him as it had often done. For his intention was to build a fortress which would hold the city down, but he did not begin it at once in order that the inhabitants might not suspect his object. . . . In the end he so softened the heart of the Soldão that he sent him at once what he required, and also ordered that a new armada should be built at Suez in which Mir Hôçem should be sent back to India. It so happened that while Mir Hôçem was carrying on this work at the same time Afonso Dalboquerque was building a fortress at Calecut. A ship of the Moors with a cargo of merchandize from Calecut came to the port of Judda, and owing to our establishment of peace and the permission given by Afonso Dalboquerque many Moors came in that ship in order to settle there. They were residing at Calecut, and Afonso Dalboquerque, to get them out of the country, gave some safe-conducts, especially to those who took away their wives and children. Calif (for this was the name of the captain of that ship), having been accustomed to come to that city from India, when he saw that they were fortifying it wished to see the work, and went there one day when Mir Hôçem was present, who, seeing the Moor Calif and knowing that he was the captain of the ship which had arrived, asked him about our Captain-in-Chief, to which he replied that he had left him building a fortress at Calecut; and as he praised it as a very strong one, Mir Hôçem was very angry, this being said in the hearing of the workmen who were building the fort, and he said to Calif, 'Since thou boastest of that fort as stronger than this, thou and those with thee shall work here for a while.' And thus as the Moor was very well attired, and those with him also, he made them carry stone and lime and toil at the work till night, as he told our people when he returned to Calecut, saying that he had suffered this toil because he had praised the Portuguese work."

It is probable that Barbosa's account of these events, written, as it was, not more than five years after their occurrence, is the earliest, and the source of the others. The third volume of De Barros' *Decadas*, from which the above extract is taken was published in 1563. The author of the *Commentaries of Afonso D'Albuquerque* (his son) was born in 1500 and published his first edition in 1557. He mentions the fortification of Jedda by Mir Husain (iv, 35), but does not give any further details.

This and the sections on Eliobom and Juda are not in the Portuguese text, but have been inserted from Ramusio, and are also in the Spanish version. It may be conjectured that a leaf of the Portuguese MS. was lost. These sections are evidently Barbosa's composition.

¹ The Spanish version gives the names as Jazan, Hali and Alhor. The two last are found on Ribero's Map, 1529. Jisân and Alia or Point Halli are found also in modern maps but Alhor does not appear. Loheia is a place of more importance, and has some trade in the present day. It may be the representative of Aly. Possibly Chor

which have their own kings, and one of these they call Jasam, another Aly and a third Alhor. Around these are many small hamlets where are many horses and much victual. This king is not subject to the Soldam, nor to any other ruler; he holds many lands and towns with harbours on the sea, whence the Moors are wont to take some horses to India for sale, which are of great value.

§ 32. OBEDA, BABELMANDEL.

AFTER passing these towns and kingdoms there are many other settlements along the coast pertaining to the kingdom of Adem, of which one is named Obeda and another Babelmandel,¹ which is at the mouth of the strait, whereby ships enter and go forth from the Red Sea. Here ships take "pilots",² on board to take them in and guide them to Juda, which pilots dwell here for this purpose only.

Gelefka should be read *Khor Gelefka*; and *Al-Khor* "the torrent-bed," may be the Arabic form of Alhor: The "kingdom" here alluded to occupies the same locality as the modern chieftainship of Asir, which has long been at war with the Turks (see W. Bury's *Arabia Infelix*, 1915, pp. 14, 121).

¹ The Spanish version gives the names as Hodeyda, Maha and Babel Mende. Ribero's map is indistinct, but —bel mende— can be read. Obeda or Hodeyda is undoubtedly the modern port of Hodeida, and Maha is probably Mokhā, also called Moha. Babel Mandel stands for "*Bab u'l-mandab*," the "Gate of lamentation," usually written by the Portuguese with a final *l*. The *Roteiro* of J. de Castro (1541) calls it "Albabo," i.e., *al-bab*, "the gate."

The trade at present is concentrated at Hodeida: Mokha, which has given the trade name to the coffee of Yemen, has lost all importance (*Arabia Infelix*, p. 119).

² The necessity for pilots in these dangerous waters is obvious. Afonso D'Albuquerque found it absolutely necessary to obtain the services of a pilot by force or fraud when he made his way into the Red Sea in 1513 (*Commentaries*, iv, 26). The author of the *Commentaries* calls these pilots *Rubāes*, the plural of *Rubāo*. This represents the Ar. *rubbān*, "the master of a ship" (but De Barros gives the word in the form *Reboões*, the plural of *Reboão*).

§ 33. CAMARAM.

LEAVING these places behind, there is an island of no great size called Camaram¹ inhabited by Moors, where ships take in some provisions when they pass thereby, either from Juda outwards or from outside when going in.² This place was taken by Afonso Dalbuquerque, Captain-in-Chief of the King our Lord, and he spent many days there in repairing and refitting his fleet to go forth from the Red Sea, for that the season did not allow him to go in as far as Juda, whither he had determined to go; "and Lopo Soares also, when he came from the port of Juda, being Captain-in-Chief of the Sea, found there close to the water a fort which the Rumes had built when they were there, which he ordered to be pulled down, being anxious to depart. In this island there is plenty of well-water of which the ships make use."

¹ The island of Kamarân off the Arabian coast of the Red Sea, a little North of Hodeida and south of Loheia.

Camaron in the Sp. version [Camaran, Ortelius.—St.].

Y* Camarâ, in Ribero's map, 1529. Camaran in Canerio's map 1502.

² In both the attempts to reach Jedda made by the Portuguese, *viz.* that by Albuquerque in 1513 and that by L. Soares D'Albergaria in 1517, Kamarân was the only point occupied. The good supply of water and the sheltered roadstead between the island and the mainland made it a convenient resting-place. Albuquerque's expedition is related in Chap. viii and ix (vol. iv) of the *Commentaries*. He appears to have gone as far north as Loheia, where his ship ran ashore. When it had been floated he returned southwards to Kamarân. Soon afterwards west winds set in and detained him, and after various fruitless attempts he was forced to remain in the island through June and July, losing large numbers of his men through fevers, and in July he abandoned the expedition and returned towards Aden.

The second expedition under Lopo Soares D'Albergaria was even more unfortunate. He succeeded in reaching Jedda but failed to take it, chiefly through his own want of resolution, and fell back on Kamarân. There during the hottest time of year in the Red Sea his men perished in great numbers, and he was obliged to take advantage of the first west wind that blew and make his way out of the Strait into the Gulf of Aden, where he succeeded in taking Zeila, as has been mentioned in § 22. A full narrative of these events is given by De Barros (*Dec. III. Bk. i, Ch. 2-5*).

§ 34. THE CITY OF ADEM.

COMING forth from the Red Sea over against Babel-mandel, which is the straitest part thereof, by which all ships must needs pass, we enter at once the wide sea of Adem, following the coast whereon are certain habitations of Moors pertaining to the same Kingdom of Adem. Passing by these we arrive at the populous and wealthy city of Adem,¹ which belongs to the

¹ Aden (always written Adem by the Portuguese) is one of the most celebrated and ancient ports in the Indian Ocean. Its position in the Gulf, commanding the entrance to the Red Sea, gave the power holding it control over the whole trade of the East which passed to Europe by way of Egypt. It has been with much probability identified with the Eden of Ezekiel xxvii. 23, and it is certainly the Eudaimōn Arabia of the *Periplus* which had been a great entrepôt of trade until destroyed shortly before the writer's time by a king called Cæsar, i.e., Charibael (Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 115).

The substitution of the name of Charibael for that of Cæsar in the text of the *Periplus* is advocated by Schwanbeck and Glaser, and supported by Schoff, the latest commentator on the *Periplus*. Mr. J. Kennedy, however, in a recent article (*J.R.A.S.* 1916, p. 834) maintains that the probabilities are in favour of a Roman expedition, and considers that no inference can be drawn from its non-mention by any of the Roman historians, adding that "such an event would excite no more interest at Rome than the bombardment by English ships of a pirate nest in Borneo or Java excites in London." But the analogy is not obvious, for while such an event is a commonplace with the British navy, the passage of a Roman fleet through the Straits of Babel-Mandeb and the destruction of a celebrated emporium in the Indian Ocean could hardly have escaped notice.

In Tabari's Chronicle, written in the early part of the tenth century, we find the story of the Abyssinian conquest of Yemen, and the restoration of the Himyarite princes by a Persian expedition sent by the Sassanian king Anoshīrvān about A.D. 576. This expedition landed at Aden, which was then evidently the principal port (Zotenberg's *Tabari*, II, p. 211).

The great tanks cut in the rock, which are still in use, are believed to date from the Sassanian period. Allusions to Aden in the mediæval Arab chronicles are numerous. That of Ibn Batūta, in the early part of the fourteenth century, mentions the usefulness of the tanks, owing to the lack of drinking water, expatiates on the extent of the Indian trade, and gives a list of the ports with which this trade was carried on. These were Kunbāyat, Tānah, Kaulam, Kālkūt, Fandarāina, Ash-Shāliyāt, Manjarūr, Fākanūr, Hinaur, and Sindabūr. Most of these will be found in Barbosa's lists under the names of Cambaya, Tana-Majumbu, Calecut, under which head also will be found Pandanare (for Pandarāni), Chiliate (for Shālia), Bacanor, Mangalor, Honor. Sindabūr stands for Sintapura, which Yule identifies with Goa, but see *infra* under Cintacora.

Marco Polo's account (nearly contemporaneous with Ibn Batūta's) is to the same purport. But it should be noted that Marco Polo wrote

Moors and has its own king. This city has a right good haven and an exceeding great traffic in goods of importance. It is a fine town, with lofty houses of stone and mortar, flat-roofed, with many tall windows ; it is well laid out in streets and surrounded with walls, towers and bastions, with battlements after our fashion. This city is on a point between the mountains and the sea. The mountain is cut through on the mainland side, so that there is no way of going out save by one passage only which they can use ; on no other side can they come in or go out. On the upper part of this ridge, whereon the city lies, are many small castles, very fair to behold, which can be seen from the sea.

This city has within it no water whatsoever, save that, without that gate, of which they make use in going towards the inland country, there stands a great building to which they lead the water in pipes from other mountains a good way off, and there is a wide plain between one and the other. In this city are great merchants, Moors as well as Jews¹ ; they are

his account only from reports, while Ibn Baṭūṭa approached the city overland from San'a, and stayed there for several days before taking ship for Zeila. (See Defrémery's *Ibn Baṭūṭa*, Vol. III, p. 177 ; Yule's *Marco Polo*, Ed. Cordier, II, pp. 438 sq.)

In the next century there seems to have been some intercourse between Aden and China. See Notes on pp. 439, 440 of the ed. of *Marco Polo* quoted above.

The description of Aden given in the text is accurate, and is probably the earliest by any Portuguese writer. It is possible that Barbosa was with Afonso D'Albuquerque's expedition.

¹ The Jews of Aden are and have long been an important element in the population ; and this is the case not only here but throughout Yemen, where they are the principal artisans in towns like San'a and Menākha (see Wyman Bury's *Arabia Infelix*, 1915, pp. 30, 79, 147). In Lord Stanley's edition the following note is made here "Or Indians," but the word in the Portuguese text is *judeus* ; if it had been intended for Indians it might have been printed *Jndios* but not *Judeus*. Moreover the term "*Indians*" is never used by the Portuguese for Hindus ; if these had been intended the word would have been *gentios*.

Ramusio has *Indiani* like the Spanish version.

white men and some of them black. Their clothing is of cotton, but some wear silk, camlets and scarlet-in-grain. Their garments are long gowns, with turbans on their heads and they are shod with low slippers. Their food is excellent flesh-meat, wheaten bread and great store of rice which comes thither from India. Here are all kinds of fruit as with us, and many horses and camels. The king always dwells in the inland regions, keeping here a governor to carry out his orders. To the harbour of this city come ships from all parts, more especially from the port of Juda, whence they bring copper, quicksilver, vermilion, coral and woollen and silken cloths, and they take thither on their return great store of spices and drugs, cotton cloths and other wares of the great kingdom of Cambaya. From Zeila and Barbora too come many ships with food-stuffs in abundance; [in return they take back Cambay cloth and beads both large and small, and all the goods in which they trade for Arabia Felix and Preste Joam's country also come here, as do the ships of Ormuz and Cambaya] and those of Cambaya come laden with cloth of many kinds; so great is the number of them that it seems an astonishing thing! And, as I have already said, they bring cotton, drugs (great quantity), gems, seed pearl in abundance, *alaquequas*,¹ and to the said kingdom of Cambaya they take back madder, opium,

¹ *Alaquequas* or carnelians, the Arabic *al-ahik*. See § 57, Limadura. In the passage here inserted from Ramusio, the word *alaquequas* occurs in the Spanish version (*pietre cornioli* in Ramusio), it is omitted here in the Portuguese, but occurs further on, in the list of articles imported from Cambaya.

[*Alaquequa* is an Indian stone which stops the flow of blood; *alaquequas* are glass beads. *Dictionary of V. Salva*, Paris, 1856.—St.]

The belief that the carnelian had this property was widely spread and was adopted from the Indian Muhammadans by Garcia de Orta (*Orta*, p. 360), who says "That called *Alaqueca* by us . . . has a more certain virtue than all the rest, for it stanches blood very suddenly."

raisins of the sun, copper, quicksilver, vermilion and great store of rosewater, which is made here. They also take much woollen cloth, coloured Meca velvets, gold in ingots, coined and to be coined (and also some in strings), and camlets, and it seems an impossible thing that they should use so much cotton cloth as these ships bring from Cambaya. They come to this city from Ormuz, from Chaul, Dabul, Baticala¹ and Calcut (whence most of the spices are wont to come) with great store of rice, sugar, and cocoanuts²; and many ships come also from Bengala, Çamatra and Malaca, which bring as well abundance of spices, drugs, silk, benzoin, lac,³ sanders-wood, aloes-wood, rhubarb in plenty, musk,⁴ thin Bengala⁵ cloths, and sugar (great

¹ Chaul, Dabul and Baticala do not occur in Ibn Baṭūṭa's list of towns on the west coast of India which traded with Aden, and it may be inferred that their trade had developed in the two hundred years which had passed since his visit. The same remark applies to Bengala, Çamatra and Malaca. Bengal and Sumatra were known to this traveller and visited by him, so their omission was not due to ignorance.

² After the word cocoanuts the following passage occurs in Lord Stanley's translation (from the Spanish) "which grow on the palm-trees, and which are like nuts in flavour, and with the kernels they make drinking cups," with the following note:

[The cocoanut shell is within a very thick husk and so may be called a kernel.—St.]

Ramusio, however, simply speaks of "things which grow on the palms, like nuts in taste, and from the shells (scorza) they make drinking-cups." There is no mention of kernels.

³ Lac, here given in the form *Alacar* (with which cf. *laquar* in the paragraph on Pegu). Other forms with an *r* in the last syllable are *alacre* and *lacre*, for which the article on Lac in *Hobson-Jobson*, which is exhaustive, should be referred to. No form with the *r* can be traced in any Indian language. The immediate origin is the Hindi *lakkh*, from the Prakrit *lakkha*, Sanskrit *lākṣa*. Our word lacquer is derived from this Portuguese form.

⁴ Musk; in the text *almisque*, in modern Portuguese *almiscar*. Here, as in the word discussed in the last note, there is an intrusive *r*, not found in the original, the Persian *mushk*. This word is used in the form *almiscra* by Garcia de Orta in his *Colloquies* (Trans. Sir C. Markham, p. 25, Note 1); which is explained by the editor as "the *salap misri* of Egypt, Persia and India." It is, however, undoubtedly musk, and (as Garcia de Orta says) was used for mixing with *ambergris* (not amber).

⁵ Bengal has always been celebrated for its fine muslins. The

store); so much so that this place has a greater and richer trade than any other in the world, and also this trade is in the most valuable commodities.

At this City¹ arrived a fleet of the King our Lord "the Captain-in-Chief whereof was Afonso D'Albuquerque, at that time Governor of India," and in that same port he took and burnt a great number of ships laden with much merchandise and others without cargoes. He then attempted to enter the city, which he did by scaling the walls with many ladders, "and when fully forty Portuguese had entered and one bastion had been taken," the ladders all broke from the weight of the multitude of men which was mounting by them, "and there remained no means of climbing up. The Portuguese who were inside the bastion were waiting for help for the space of an hour, when seeing that the Moors were gathering and beginning to force their way in, they let themselves down by ropes from

Spanish version adds "and Mangala," to which the following note is appended :

[Mangala, fortress of Sumatra, in the country of Lampong, on the shore of the Tulang-Bawang, nine leagues and two-thirds from the mouth of that river. *Geographical Dictionary*, Barcelona, 1832.—St.]

Ramusio, however, has Mangalor, which is more probably correct. But it may be doubted whether any name but Bengala was in the original, as in the Portuguese text; for fine muslin was not a product of Mangalor, either of the Mangalor in Kāthiāwār or of that in Malabar, nor of Sumatra. Moreover Mangala is not mentioned by Barbosa among the places known to him in Sumatra.

¹ The account here given of Albuquerque's assault on Aden in March, 1513, is fuller than that in Ramusio and that in the Spanish text, and is of interest as having been written probably not more than four or five years after the occurrence. It agrees in the main with the full accounts in the *Commentaries*, Vol. IV, and in De Barros (*Dec. II*, Bk. vii, Cap. 9). The latter attributes the breaking of the ladders to their width, which admitted of six men abreast, so that the number on each ladder was too great for its strength. Correa says nothing about the width of the ladders, but attributes their breaking only to the number of men attempting to mount. The forty men who are mentioned seem, according to De Barros, to be those who mounted at the second attempt. With them was Garcia de Sousa, who refused to come down when the others had escaped by the ropes. He is the Captain who was killed in the bastion. Correa puts the number of men who succeeded in getting in on this occasion at sixty (I, pp. 341, 342).

the bastion." In this attack the Moors made a good defence, and many were slain, also some Christians, "among whom were two captains, one slain in the city and the other in the bastion."

§ 35. THE KINGDOM OF FARTAUQUE.

BEYOND this kingdom and city of Adem, on the way out from the same strait, there is another Moorish Kingdom on the coast, which has three or four towns near the sea. One of these is called Xaer,¹ another Dofar,² and another Fartaque,³ and in these the

¹ Xebech, Diufar and Fartach in the Spanish version. Xesequi, Diufar and Fartas in Ramusio.

² [Dhafar.—St.]

[Fartach, Ortelius, Fartaque, Atlas of 1753.—St].

³ There is considerable confusion as to the ports and capes on the S.E. Coast of Arabia here. Following Barbosa's route from Aden to Maskat the proper order is :

- (a) Esh-Shihr (Xaer).
- (b) Ras Fartak (Cabo de Fartaque).
- (c) Dhofar (Dofar).
- (d) Rāsa'l-Hadd (C. de Rosalgate).
- (e) Sūr (Char).

Barbosa's order is :

Fartaque and C. de Fartaque.

Xaer.

Dofar.

Char.

C. de Rosalgate.

In the Spanish version, the map of Ribero (1529) and Ramusio the confusion becomes worse.

It will be convenient to give the names from these three sources in parallel columns, as there is a close connection between them.

Spanish Version.

Ramusio.

Ribero.

Xebech

Xesequi

Xebeque or Xeseque.

Fartach

Diufar

Fartaca

Diufar

Fartas

Diulfar

Xeher

Pecher

Scheher

Fasalhad

Fachalhat

Fasalhat

Cor (Cor ?)

Hor

Cor

Resalcate

(Then a list of places which lie between Rāsa'l-hadd and Maskat and then)

C. de Rosalgate

Here the close correspondence between Ribero's map and the Spanish version becomes apparent. The place with which both begin is

aforesaid fighting men have many horses which they use in war, and weapons many and good; now for a short time past this region has been subject to the King of Adem, and has accepted his service.

§ 36. THE CAPE OF FARTAUQUE. ÇACOTARA.

LEAVING the above named kingdom, there is a cape which also they call the Cape of Fartauque, where the coast bends towards the open sea. Between this cape and that of Guardafuy is the mouth of the strait of Meca, by which ships enter the Red Sea. Between these capes are three islands, one large and two small.¹

perhaps a duplicate of Esh-Shihr in its proper place, but the description of the place occurs after Dhofār under the name of Xehir or Scheher. Dhofār is uniformly placed before Esh-Shihr, and Ramusio makes one more blunder by placing it before Fartak. All these versions then give the Cape which they call Fasalhad, Fachalhat or Fasalhat. The name is a reduplication of the cape Rāsa'l-hadd (the Rosalgate of Barbosa), which duly occurs again in the Spanish version and Ribero as Resalcate and Rosegate. The town of Sūr, the Char of Barbosa, which is immediately N. of the true Cape of Rāsa'l-hadd is placed just east of the imaginary Fasalhat, and Ribero goes still further by inserting several other places, Kalhat, Tibi, Dagna and Curiat (which really are on the N.E. coast between Rāsa'l-hadd and Maskat), between the false and true capes on the S.E. coast. Ramusio sticks to the name Fachalhat but gives no reduplication. This blunder in the Spanish version exists not only in the position of the places but in the descriptions. We read under Fasalhad, "from here the coast begins to bend inwards towards Ormuz," and in the next paragraph he says "the coast turns to the north east as far as Cape Resalcate (*i.e.*, the true Rāsa'l-hadd) and then it turns to the north-west."

Fasalhat, as shown by Ribero, corresponds nearly with the Cape called Rās Madraka in modern maps.

The Fartakis, who inhabited the region around Cape Fartak, from Esh-Shihr to Dhofār are identical with the modern Mahra tribes, who are believed to be an aboriginal race pressed southwards by the Semites. They hold the fertile valleys of the Hadhramaut, and have for long been the dominant race in Socotra, where they were already established, as the text shows, in the beginning of the sixteenth century (Hogarth, *Penetration of Arabia*, 1904, p. 213, also Bent's *Southern Arabia*, 1900).

There does not appear to have been any town or district really called Fartak. Apparently Fartakis was a popular name for the Mahras living near the well known cape. The "kingdom" of Fartak may be considered as equivalent to Hadhramaut in the narrow sense of the name.

¹ The two smaller islands seem to be 'Abdal-Kūri, or 'Abdal-Karīm as Bent calls it, which is not far from Cape Guardafui, and the group of

The large island is called Çacotara,¹ and there are lofty ranges and mountains therein. It is inhabited by brown men, who call themselves Christians,² but lack instruction and baptism, so that they have nothing but the name of Christians; yet have they crosses in their oratories. In bygone days, as the Moors will have it, this was an Isle of Amazons, who as time went on associated with men; and some trace of this appears even yet, for the women manage and rule their estates, and their husbands take no part therein. This folk has its own language, they go naked, covering only their private parts with cotton cloths, and some with skins. They have cows, sheep and date-palms

"The Brothers," nearer to Socotra. The first named is the Bedalcuria mentioned in the *Commentaries of A. Dalboquerque* (I, 190) where Afonso D'Albuquerque passed some time in the spring of 1508, after his first expedition to Ormuz. Here he lost many men through sickness, and was obliged to move to a roadstead near the mainland. His object in selecting this island seems to have been to watch the traffic to and from the Red Sea, but he met with little success.

¹ *Socotra*. The history of this island and its people is very fully discussed by Sir H. Yule and M. Cordier in the notes to Ch. xxxii of Marco Polo's *Travels* (3rd Ed., II, p. 408 sq.). Schoff's note, in his edition of the *Periplus*, under § 30 Dioscorida, also gives numerous references to early authorities. Hommel's identification of Socotra with the Island of the Blest of the Gilgamesh story, if correct, takes back the history of the island to a very remote period, but it is evidently to be accepted with caution. The principal modern authorities on Socotra are Bent, *Southern Arabia*, 1900, and Hein, in *Z. der Ges. für Erdkunde*, 1902.

² The history of Christianity in Socotra, which still lingered in a moribund condition when the Portuguese first visited the island, is fully discussed in the Notes to Ch. xxxii of Yule's *Marco Polo*. It was undoubtedly, as the Portuguese recognised, a branch of the Abyssinian or Jacobite Church (De Barros, *Dec. II*, Bk. i, Ch. 3, f. 9). There is now no trace of Christianity in the island, though many Ethiopic inscriptions are found.

The belief that Socotra was the original island of women, or Amazons, was common among the Portuguese. For the wide extension of this legend see also Yule's *Marco Polo*, under Ch. xxxi.

Witchcraft and sorcery have long been associated in popular belief with Socotra, and although in Barbosa's narrative the powerful enchantments are not mentioned, yet they are alluded to by De Barros, as they were by Marco Polo two hundred years before. That such beliefs still survive is evident from the terror of being bewitched while on the island displayed by the Somali servants as related by Mrs. Bent (*l.c.* p. 381).

in plenty, their food is milk, flesh and dates. In this island there is abundance of Dragon's blood and of Socotra aloes.¹ Here the Fartau Moors built a fort, which they held in order to subdue the country people, and make Moors of them, insomuch that those who dwelt around the fort were already become Moors, and served the Moors of Fartau as if they were their slaves, with their persons as well as their estates, "and lived in complete subjection to them, in great tribulation; yet they still kept some of their rites as best they could, which have remained with them from ancient times, and they say that the whole island was held by true Christians, who little by little were corrupted, for they had no knowledge of navigation, and hence they had no true doctrine."

These Fartau Moors then being thus in possession of this fortress, there arrived here a fleet of

¹ Aloes were, during the middle ages, the principal production of Socotra, and the plant from which it is extracted is called *Aloe Socotrina*. This was undoubtedly the kind of aloes known to the ancients, but strange to say it is not mentioned in the *Periplus* as one of the products of Dioscorida. On the other hand the dragon's-blood here mentioned is undoubtedly the "cinnabar" of the *Periplus*, which was "collected in drops from the trees." The true cinnabar is an ore of mercury, but the word was often used as a synonym for dragon's-blood. (See Hakluyt's *Voyages*, II, ii, 331. "Dragon's blood, otherwise called cinnabaris.") The botanical name of the tree is *Dracæna cinnabari*. The dragon's blood is described by Bent (*l.c.* p. 379) as a rich ruby-red gum producing a valuable resin, now brought from Sumatra and South America. It is still grown in Socotra, but there is no export. The cultivation of the aloes in Socotra is described on p. 381 of the same work.

The description given by De Barros (*Dec. II*, Bk. i, f. 9) is worth quoting here, and may be translated as follows:

"The ports to which our men resort for supplies are Çoco (Suk), where the Moors have their dwelling, or Calancea (Kalenzia), which is more to the west, and between them Benij, which is towards the east. The land is not so barren as the people are rude and idle, for, wherever the winds do not prevail, all manner of plants would flourish. Let those which the land produces of itself are jujube-trees, palms, dragon-trees (from which dragon's-blood is gathered) and the best aloes that is known, which from the name of the island is in general called Socotorino." De Castro (*Roteiro*, p. 18) uses the word Azeor for aloes. This is a Portuguese form derived from the Ar. *As-sibâr* المصبار (See Dozy—under *Acibar*, the Spanish word of the same origin).

the King our Lord,¹ and the Portuguese, having landed took the fortress, albeit not without loss as they wished for the Moors defended themselves more bravely than we had as yet seen any men do in these regions, and would by no means yield themselves up, but continued until all died fighting, not one being left alive; for they are right good men of war and exceeding bold therein. The Captain of this fleet left there in the fort many men to defend and hold it.

Hard by this island are two others, which also are inhabited by black and brown men, like Canarins,² a

¹ The expedition of the Portuguese here alluded to was that commanded by Tristão D'Acunha in 1506. It is possible that Duarte Barbosa accompanied this expedition, as he speaks in the first person.

The arrival of the Portuguese in Socotra is wrongly given in Bent (*l.c.* pp. 391, 392) as 1538. The original landing was, as has been stated, in 1506, and it was then that Tristão D'Acunha and A. D'Albuquerque took the fort of the Fartakis (the modern Mahras) at Çoco or Sūk. De Barros (*Dec. II*, Bk. i, f. 11b), Correa (I, p. 683) and the author of the *Commentaries of D'Albuquerque* (I, p. 54) distinctly state that the Portuguese occupied and repaired the Arab fort, and did not build a new one; so the absence of any fort of Portuguese workmanship is not a matter for surprise (see Bent, *l.c.* p. 363). The modern capital, Tamarida, is not far from Sūk, which is now deserted, and the ruined fort mentioned by Bent may be the Arab fort which the Portuguese took.

There was no expedition to Socotra in 1538, but the expedition under Estevão da Gama, as related in De Castro's *Roteiro*, first sighted the island on January 13th, 1541, touched at the "Sheikh's watering place" "a agoada do Xeque," probably Sūk, and on Jan 20th, 1541, sailed with a N.N.E. wind to Calleçaa (Bent's *Kalenzia*), at the western end of the island, and thence to Aden.

The island, being so conveniently placed for ships going to and from the Red Sea ports, was often visited by the Portuguese, especially as it afforded facilities for watering. For instance the expedition sent against Aden by Nuno da Cunha, under Eitor da Silveira, in 1530, visited Socotra in order to take in fresh water (*farer sua agoada*). (De Barros and Couto, *Dec. IV*, Bk. iv, Ch. 11.)

² *Canarins*. It seems clear that in this passage Barbosa is comparing the natives of Socotra to the Canarese of Southern India. The word *Canarim* is still in use familiarly in Portugal, as in the phrase "Every Canarim is a descendant of Vasco da Gama!" In short it is applied to the class we call Eurasians. The Anglo-Indian term *Karāni* commonly applied to this class is most probably derived from this word: Various theories as to its origin are discussed in Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson* (*s.v.* Cranny), but none are satisfactory, and a metathesis common in Indian words supplies an easy transition from Canarim to Karāni. Yule's remark (regarding the quotation from a French writer under 1653) that "this shows that the word was used

race without any law and possessing nothing which they worship; they live like beasts without trade or intercourse. And in these isles there is much fine ambergris [also many stones called Niccoli,¹ of the valuable kind, which are prized at Mecca] and conch shells of the kind that are valuable in the Mine² (i.e., as currency) and abundance of dragon's blood and Socotra aloes, also plenty of sheep and cows.

"In the island of Çacotara, as I have already said, are made certain woollen cloths like *ordens*, which are called *carabolins*³; they are of great value, and a useful article for trade on the coast of Melynde and Mombaça where they are much used."

at Goa in something of its Hindu significance of one of mixt blood" is in favour of some such derivation, but he does not seem to have been aware that the current modern use of the word in India is the same.

¹ I have inserted from Ramusio this passage which was overlooked by the Portuguese editors. The "*niccoli*" are undoubtedly small onyxes. In modern use in works on the glyptic art the word *nicolo* is used for a form of intaglio, which is the reverse of a cameo, i.e., the white layer of the stone forms the surface, and the intaglio brings out the dark colour in the layer below it. The word *nicolo* is a shortened form of *onicolo*, a diminutive of *onyx* (Middleton, *Ancient Gems*, Cambridge, 1891, p. 147). Its use here is doubtless simply in this sense without the modern technical meaning. The demand for these stones at Mecca was doubtless for signet-rings. Small *nicolo* intaglios are occasionally found in Afghanistan and N.W. India, belonging to the Græco-Scythic and Sassanian periods.

² The Mine is the fort of S. Jorge da Mina (generally alluded to shortly as "A Mina") built on the Gold Coast of Guinea in 1481, which became a centre for the trade of the West Coast of Africa. The allusion is to a small shell, a kind of cowrie, which served as currency on that coast, which appears to have been found in abundance on these small islands of 'Abdul-kūrī. The Maldivé Islands are the principal source of supply for cowries.

³ *Carabolim*. This word seems to be corrupt, and in the form given here no origin can be assigned to it. It is not in the Spanish version nor in Ramusio, but a passage in João de Castro's *Roteiro* suggests that the true form is *Cambolim*. He says "the inhabitants of Socotra call their garments *cambolis*." Vieyra says that *cambolim* is "a cloak for rainy weather," and he also gives a reference to *burel*, which he defines as "a coarse cloth of a darkish colour, such as the Franciscan friars' habits are made of." This suggests that the reference to "ordens" may mean that the garment is like that worn by a member of a religious order.

Cambolim is evidently identical with the Old French and English *cameline*, a sort of brown cloth made of or supposed to be made of camel's hair, like *camlet* (see *New English Dict.*, s.v. *Cameline*).

§ 37. XAER.

PROCEEDING thus by sea along the coast there is a Moorish town called Xaer,¹ which also pertains to the aforesaid Kingdom of Fartaque. This is a very large place, wherein there is great store of goods of many kinds of merchandize; for the Moors of Cambaya, Chaul, Dabul, Baticalá and Malabar come hither with ships laden with great plenty of cotton cloths, both coarse and fine, of which they make much use, many perforated garnets and other gems of inferior kinds, rice, sugar, spices of all sorts and other wares which they sell here to the country dealers, who purchase them at good prices, and take them to Adem; and so to the whole of this part of Arabia.

And after these merchants have sold the aforesaid goods, they employ the money in buying many excellent horses,² which are found there, which horses

The form *camboline* is used in the following passage from Hakluyt quoted in the same dictionary: "The Tallipoies go very strangely appparelled with one camboline or thinne cloth next to their body of a browne colour" (Hak., *Voy.*, II, 261).

The camlets noted above as worn at Sofala and other places on the East Coast of Africa are perhaps these *cambolins*, and not the more valuable camlets of commerce.

¹ Xaer is the town of Esh-Shihr one of the principal places on the coast of Hadhramaut. It is here wrongly placed after instead of before the Cape of Fartak. See note 3 under § 35. The Spanish version and Ramusio also bring in Dhofar before Esh-Shihr, which the Spanish calls Keher and Ramusio Pecher. [Shehir one of the chief seaports in Hadramaut Zeher. Ortelius.—St.]

Esh-Shihr was and is noted chiefly for two articles of export, frankincense and horses, and its trade has always been chiefly with India. The name was not restricted to any one town, but embraced a considerable stretch of coast, including Dhofar.

Ibn Baṭūṭa's attention seems to have been concentrated on the betel and cocoanut, which he here met with for the first time. Yet Ibn Baṭūṭa's contemporary, Marco Polo, who gives an account of Esh-Shihr (Escier) and of Dhofar (Dufar) in Chaps. xxxvii and xxxviii, alludes to the incense under the latter place and to the horse-trade under both. Both travellers were astonished by the cattle eating fish on this coast, as Mrs. Bent was in more recent days.

² *Esh-Shihr and Sokar.* With regard to the horse-trade there seems

are by far larger and better than those brought from Ormuz, and are worth in India five or six hundred cruzados.¹ They also take much frankincense,²

to have been some confusion between Esh-Shihr and Sohār in 'Ommān. Marco Polo, in his account of the province of Maabar (Yule and Cordier, II, p. 340), gives a list of the places whence horses were imported, viz. Kis, Hormes, Dofar, Soer and Aden, and in Note 7, p. 348, Soer is identified with Sohār, a place which Marco Polo does not mention at all in his account of the Arabian Coast. In this list it is associated with Aden and Dhofar, and as Esh-Shihr fulfils these conditions, and is mentioned by Marco Polo, as it is by Barbosa, as a principal seat of the horse-trade, it is probably the place meant. He may have given the name in the form Soer as he had heard it in India, while the pronunciation Escier (Esher in Yule) represents very closely the Arab form (with the article) Esh-Shihr.

Sohār, under the form Coquiar, is included by Barbosa further on in a list of places north of Maskat without any special mention of trade.

Gulf Arabs. It will be noted that Barbosa extols the horses from this part of Arabia as superior to those from Ormuz; the latter (which would include those from Sohār) are what are now known as Gulf Arabs, and are considered inferior to those from the Indian Ocean coast.

¹ Gold cruzados were first struck in Portugal by Afonso V, who died in 1481. His cruzado was of 253 reis, but the cruzado referred to in the text was probably that struck by D'Albuquerque at Goa in 1510, which was worth 420 reis, according to Da Cunha (*Indo-Portuguese Numismatics*, Bombay, 1880, p. 22). The *meia esphera*, or half cruzado, weighed, according to the same authority, 32½ gr., but a well preserved specimen in my own collection weighs only 27 gr. The average weight of the cruzado may be taken, I think, at not more than 60 gr., that is 9s. 9d. of English money. In round figures therefore the price of a horse would be £250 or £300, a very large sum for that period. Yet Marco Polo two hundred years earlier valued them at a price which Yule considers to represent 500 gold dinārs. The gold dinār of the 'Abbāsī Khallifas averaged a little over 60 gr., so that the price is nearly equivalent to that given by Barbosa.

The Spanish version and Ramusio give the price in ducats. The Venetian ducat is calculated in Yule and Cordier's *Marco Polo*, Appendix K, at 9s. 4.284d.; so the result is almost identical with that in cruzados.

The price of frankincense is given as 150 reis the quintal. At 420 reis to a cruzado 150 reis represents 3s. 6d. The quintal consisted of 4 arrobas of 32 lbs. each, according to Fryer; so that 128 lbs. were only worth 3s. 6d., which seems a low price. It probably represents the price at the port before loading.

² The trade in frankincense was established at a very early period and there can be no doubt that the South-east coast of Arabia was the source of that taken to Egypt, Assyria, Palestine, Greece and Rome. The ancient authorities on the subject have been fully examined in Yule and Cordier's *Marco Polo*, II, p. 445, and in Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 120. There can be little doubt that the Bay of Sachalites preserves an early form of the name Shihr, which seems much more probable than *sāhil*, a coast. It is however impossible to identify the two names *شحر* *shihrah*, and *ساحل* *sāhil*, as Schoff suggests, *i.c.*, p. 129. It must be remembered

which grows in that same land. In this land of Xaer too is much wheat, flesh, dates and grapes. The back country is inhabited by wild Arabs. All ships which come from India to the Red Sea and arrive late, so that they cannot go through the Straits, put into Berber and into this port ; and in the same way those coming out and finding the wind against them come in here whence they can go on to India, hugging the shore of Cambaya.¹ Thus this harbour is a great resort for numbers of ships. And so much frankincense grows here that it is carried all over the world. They carry

that Esh-Shihr in Arab use extended beyond Dhofār to the East, including the Hadhramaut valley and the mountains near the coast on the west. It corresponds in every way to the Sachalitic gulf, which extended from the Rāsa'l-Kalb in the West to the Jebel Samhan (or Masfra) east of Dhofār. The latter is close to the coast and 3,600 ft. in height. Ras Fartak or the Cape of Syagrus divides this so-called bay, and its height being 2,500 ft. it must have early attracted the attention of sailors. This corresponds with the description in the *Periplus*, § 30 and § 32. In the latter paragraph the bay beyond Syagrus is said to cut deeply into the coast as far as the mountain range beyond Moscha (i.e., the Dhofār country), then as now a port of export for the Sachalitic frankincense. Bent describes the export from Dhofār to Bombay as still about 9,000 cwt. annually (*Southern Arabia*, 1900, p. 234). See also Mr. Drake Brockman's note quoted on p. 218 of Schoff's *Periplus* as to Dhofār.

The principal place on the Frankincense coast, according to the *Periplus*, was Cana, which has been identified with the modern town of Bīr 'Alī, but Makalla between Bīr 'Alī and Esh-Shihr is, according to Bent, the only place on the whole coast which has a moderately good harbour. Although the *Periplus* shows that the frankincense trade was active in the first century A.D., yet it is remarkable that neither Idrīsī nor Ibn Batūta (who visited Dhofār) mention it. Shihr is mentioned by Idrīsī as a port of some importance. It is called Chedjer in Jaubert's translation I, 150, ~~چدجر~~ being read ~~چدجر~~.

[Enciencio, ancient for ajenjo, Absinthe, perhaps the Kat or Katta, a very expensive leaf of a shrub.—St.]

On this note of Lord Stanley's it is only necessary to observe that the word used really means incense and not absinthe. The Portuguese text has *encenço*, and Ramusio's Italian version *incenso*. Nor is there any reason to suppose that there was any trade in wormwood, while that in frankincense is, as has been shown above, well established.

¹ The ships proceeding to India during the monsoon evidently stuck close to the Arabian coast, with the south-west wind behind them, as far as Rāsa'l-hadd, and then followed the Persian and Mekrān coast to Sindh and Cambay, thus avoiding the full force of the monsoon.

[This refers to the monsoon ; if it is unfavourable the ships cannot get up the Red Sea.—St.]

cargoes of this in their ships and it is worth a hundred and fifty reis the quintal.¹ And this king of Xaer, with all his kingdom, is submissive to Adem, because they hold a brother of his in captivity there.

§ 38. DOFAR.

BEYOND the Cape of Fartaque the sea coast bears towards Ormuz, and following the coast there is a town of Moors called Dofar, which also belongs to the Kingdom of Fartaque, with which the Moors of Cambaya trade in cotton cloths, rice and goods of many other kinds.²

§ 39. CHAR.

BEYOND Xaer, along the coast, are many small Moorish villages, and inland there are many Arab tribes. The

¹ In addition to horses and frankincense Esh-Shihr also produced saffron and ambergris, according to Mas'ûdî's account in the tenth century (*Mas'ûdî*, Barbier de Meynard, I, p. 367). Ibn Khaldun (*Kay*, p. 180) also alludes to the ambergris of Esh-Shihr. The *Periplus* alludes to the saffron of Arabia as one of the productions of Muza (Mokha).

² [Dofar, Ortelius].

The Spanish version gives the name as Diufar and Ramusio as Diulfar. The Portuguese is closer to the Ar. *Dhofār*, ذوفار.

Although Barbosa does not mention the trade in horses and frankincense, Dhofār shared these trades with Esh-Shihr, as has been shown in the notes on the preceding section. Camões especially mentions its fame for incense and in Marco Polo's time it was equally celebrated, although Ibn Baṭūṭa seems to have been unaware of the trade. Dhofār is now under the authority of the Maskat Sayyids (see Bent, *l.c.* p. 235).

Idrīsī, like Ibn Baṭūṭa, does not mention the trade in frankincense, and speaks of Dhofār as a decayed place (Jaubert's *Idrīsī*, I, p. 148).

It may be noted that Ibn Baṭūṭa speaks of the frankincense tree under Hāsik, the most westerly of the Kūria Mūria Islands.

The port of Moscha mentioned in § 32 of the *Periplus* is identified by Schoff with Khor Reiri, a creek near Taka, in the east of the Dhofār plain, but there seems no sufficient ground for this identification. Moscha was, however, undoubtedly a frankincense port, and Müller's identification with Maskat is obviously impossible.

For the probability that Dhofār is Varthema's Julfar see *infra*, § 40, p. 73, n. 1.

coast goes on thus as far as the Cape of Rosalgate,¹ where the kingdom and seignory of Ormuz begins and here is a fortress held by the said King of Ormuz, which they call Char.² From hence the coast begins to turn inwards towards the place where Ormuz lies.

§ 40. THE KINGDOM OF ORMUS IN ARABIA.

FURTHER on, beyond the Cape of Rosalgate, there are many villages and strongholds of the King of Ormuz³ along the coast as far as the entrance of the Sea of

¹ The prominent Cape known to the Arabs as Rāsa'l-hadd, "the Boundary Cape," is generally called Rosalgate by the early Portuguese travellers (sometimes Roselgate or Roçalgate). De Barros (*Dec. II*, Bk. ii, Ch. 1) wrongly considers it to be the Cape Syagrus of Ptolemy, a name which in reality applies to C. Fartak. This cape is the most easterly point of the Arabian peninsula, where, as Barbosa observes, the coast bends back towards the Persian Gulf. Strabo (xvi, iv, 6) calls it Acila, a name which Pliny applies to a town in its vicinity. It corresponds closely in position with Sūr, though it is improbable that there is any etymological connection between the names as Schoff supposes (*Periplus*, p. 147).

² Sūr, the port which still exists immediately north of the Cape, is represented by the form Char (*i.e.*, Shār) adopted by Barbosa. Cor (for Çor) in the Spanish version and Çor in Ribero's map are closer to the Arabic form; but both the Spanish version and Ribero wrongly place Çor immediately east of his imaginary Cape Fasalhat, which he places in the position of Ras Madraka, which Berthelot in 1635 gives correctly as Matraque. (See p. 58, n. 3, under § 35). Ramusio does not follow the Spanish version in this curious reduplication, but adopts the spelling Fachalhat and turns Sūr into Hor. Col. S. B. Miles's comparison of the name with Tyre (Tsor) and of Kuryat with Carthage and his supposition that these names denote an early Phœnician trading settlement are probably well founded, but Mr. Schoff's opinion that the modern Kalāt in Balochistan represents "an eastern migration of this tribe name" is untenable. Kalāt is simply the Arabic كَلَاة *kala'at*, a fort, and is applied to many places in Persia, Afghanistan, etc., such as Kalāt-i-Nādirī, Kalāt-i-Ghazai.

Berthelot marks Sūr as R. de Sor. Sūr was the starting point of Wellsted's expedition to explore South 'Omān (J. R. Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, 1838) in 1835, and also of that of Col. S. B. Miles in 1883 (*Geog. Journal*, 1896, p. 522).

³ The so-called kingdom of Ormuz (Hurmuz) was an Arab principality, which at this period was subordinate to the newly established Safavī kingdom of Persia. In Arabia it extended along the coast from the limits of Hadhramaut, through 'Omān and the Straits of Ormuz, into the southern part of the Persian Gulf.

Persia. The said king holds many castles and towns, and on the Arabian side many isles which lie within the said sea, wherein dwell Moors of high rank. There he keeps his governors and collectors of his revenues, and these towns are as follows, scilicet :

First Clarate,¹ which is a large Moorish town, of fine, well-built houses, wherein dwell many merchants, wholesale dealers and other gentlemen.

Next, having passed this place there is another which is named Terve.² It is of no great size, and has a good supply of water, so that all the ships which sail these seas come hither to take in water.

¹ *Clarate*. This is the important port of Kalhāt. The Spanish version and Ribero's map give the more correct form Calhat. [In the German Atlas there is a place called Kellat and another close by called Calajute; Calata, Ortelius.—St.] The *Commentaries* give the name as Calayate, which form is also employed by De Barros. Probably Clarate is a scribe's error for Claiate. Alboquerque first visited this town in 1507, on his voyage from Socotra to Hurmuz. In the *Commentaries* it is described (I, 566) as "a city as large as Santarem, badly populated, with many old edifices now destroyed." There had evidently been a great falling off since the commencement of the fourteenth century when we have glowing descriptions of Kalhāt by Ibn Batūta and Marco Polo (see Defrémery's *Ibn Batūta*, II, 225, 226, and Yule and Cordier's *Marco Polo* (3rd Ed.) II, 451, and notes) who expatiate on the thriving trade with India. The people, according to Ibn Batūta, were Shi'as, but their sect was oppressed by the Sultān Kutb ud-dīn Tahamtan, Malik of Hurmuz, who held this coast (then under the suzerainty of the later Mongol rulers of Persia). Abū Sa'id struck coins at Karmān in A.H. 717 (A.D. 1317), and is probably Marco Polo's "Soldan of Kermān."

Alboquerque on his expedition to Hurmuz, in 1508, took Kalhāt and plundered it, and then set fire to the city and the shipping in the harbour. Since his first visit the year before he had no doubt ascertained that it was part of the Hurmuz principality, under the power of the Wazīr Khwāja 'Attār (a native of Kalhāt), and took these measures as an act of war against Hurmuz. The princes of Hurmuz, according to the chronicle of Turān Shah, claimed to have come originally from Kalhāt (*Travels of Pedro Texeira*, H.S., Ed. Sinclair and Ferguson, pp. 155, 258).

² *Terve* (called Tybi in the Spanish version, Tibi in Ribero's map of 1529, Tivi in Berthelot's map of 1635).

Ibn Batūta (*Defrémery II*, 226) calls it Tibi طيبى (i.e., *My perfume*) as he explains, and praises it for its streams and fruits.

In the map accompanying Hogarth's *Penetration of Arabia* the name is given as Taiwa, and in the same form in the Rev. G. P. Badger's map in the *Imams and Sayyids of 'Oman*.—H.S.

Beyond this place, is another called Dagino,¹ which also is a good haven.

Passing this place, there is another on the coast not far away, called Curiate,² wherein dwell men of good standing, who carry on a thriving trade in merchandize. Here, and in other places hard by, there is great store of food, also many very excellent horses bred in that same land, and the Moors of Ormuz come hither to buy these and take them or send them to India.

Having passed this town of Curiate, there is another

¹ *Dagino* (Daxnia in the Spanish version, Dagina in Ribero's map). It cannot be identified with certainty in modern maps, but may possibly be the Wādī Dāghmar in the map in Badger's *Imams and Sayyids of 'Oman*.

² *Curiate* (Curiat in the Spanish version, Curion in Ribero's map) is called Al-Kuriyyāt by Ibn Batūta and Kīryat in modern times.

It is probably Idrīsī's Al-kuriyyatain, which he mentions as one of the towns of Arabia (Jaubert's *Idrīsī*, I, p. 147). Ibn Batūta also gives no description, but simply says that 'Omān contains several towns, of which he mentions Zakī, Al-Kuriyyāt, Shabā, Kalbā, Khawr-Fukkān, and Sohār.

Albuquerque, in his first expedition to Hurmuz, made use of a chart given to him by a Moorish pilot in Socotra. This pilot had been a companion of 'Omar, a pilot from Hurmuz, employed by Vicente de Sodrē in 1503. On Vasco da Gama's return to Portugal at the end of his second voyage, he left Sodrē (his maternal uncle) with five ships to watch the Straits of Bab-el-Mandab, but he was drowned the same year off the Kūria Mūria Islands. Correa tells the story of the wreck and of the death of Vicente de Sodrē and his brother Bras de Sodrē (Vol. I, p. 365, f.). His name is commemorated in the Caes de Sodrē in Lisbon.

This chart was of great value to Albuquerque, and it was through it that he was able to check the local pilots and obtain access to the ports along the 'Omān coast. (*Commentaries of D'Albuquerque*, I, 52, 67, II, xlii; *Three Voyages of V. da Gama*, p. 376).

The first important place he approached was the port of Kīryat or Kuriāt, which is at the mouth of a *Wādī* by which access can be obtained to the country behind the mountains. This was traversed by Gen. Miles in 1883 (*Geog. Journal*, 1886, p. 522).

The capital of 'Omān, according to Ibn Batūta and Idrīsī, was Nezwā, which is an inland place beyond the Jebel Akhdar Mountains. It was visited by Wellsted in 1835, and he found it to be "the chief ultra-montane stronghold of 'Omān" (Hogarth, *Penetration of Arabia*, p. 139). The Portuguese, however, knew nothing of the inland country, confining their attention to the coast. Albuquerque, finding his landing at Curiate resisted, attacked and burnt it, including the mosque, which his chronicler describes as "one of the most beautiful ever seen." It seems to have been a considerable place with a fair trade.

which they call Etem,¹ where the king of Ormus had a fortress.

Leaving this fortress, there is then a town which they call Masquate,² a large place, whercin dwell many persons of standing. It has great trade and an exceeding great fishery, where are taken fish many and great, which they salt and dry. They have dealings in this fish with many countries.

Passing this place, as we go towards Ormus, there is on the coast another, which they call Coquiar,³

¹ *Etem*. Here the Spanish version has Sar, perhaps a reduplication of Sor. No name resembling Etem can be found in any map, ancient or modern. It was evidently an insignificant place. Ramusio gives the name as Ceti. [This may be read Sar or Sāri.—St.]

² *Masquate* (Mazquate in the Spanish version) is the well known port of Maskat, now the most important place in 'Omān. Although it is here described as a large town with thriving trade it does not seem to have been at that time as important as either Kalhāt or Kuryat. Ibn Batūta, in his list of the important towns of 'Omān (see p. 70, n. 2) only mentions Maskat, without giving any particulars, and the same may be said of Idrīsī two hundred years before him (Jaubert's *Idrisi*, I, pp. 152, 153).

Marco Polo also does not mention Maskat. It was evidently rising in importance, and Alboquerque made it one of his principal ports of call. The author of the *Commentaries* (I, 72) says it was the principal port of the country.

Varthema, in 1503, visited it in the course of his erratic journey from India to Hurmuz; viz., Gogo (in Gūjarāt) to Julfar in the Persian Gulf (perhaps really Dhofār, see p. 73, n. 1) thence to Maskat, which he barely mentions, and thence to Hurmuz. It gradually became a very important point for Portuguese trade, but was at first left without fortifications, and in 1581 was sacked by a Turkish raiding expedition, under 'Alī Beg, who afterwards attacked East Africa. This led to the erection of a fort by the Portuguese, and in 1586 Martim Pombeiro was ordered to undertake this work, but died before it was begun, and it was carried out by his successor. This strong fort (of which a view is given from a painting by Capt. A. W. Stiffe, R.N., in Danver's *Portuguese in India*, Vol. II, p. 69) still exists. It was lost by the Portuguese in 1650, and fell into the hands of the Imāms or Sultāns, whose descendants still rule there.

For a general account of Maskat and the surrounding country, see Hogarth, *Penetration of Arabia*, pp. 226-230. In the view of modern Maskat there given (p. 229) the Portuguese fort is shown to the right (see also the Rev. G. P. Badger's *Imāms and Sayyids of 'Omān*, H.S. 1871, view accompanying map).

³ *Coquiar* is the form used by Barbosa for the Ar. Sohār, the *qu* representing the strong Arabic *h*.

The Spanish version has Sohār, which is the form found in modern maps.

Idrīsī, in the first half of the twelfth century, considered Sohār to be

and beyond that another called Roçaque,¹ which has a fine fortress pertaining to the King of Ormus ; which fortresses he maintains in order that he may have the power to wage war on these other places when they rise up against him.

Passing this fortress of Roçaque, but further inland, is another place called Mael,² and beyond this yet another little village called Profam,³ around which

one of the oldest and richest towns in 'Omān, but its trade had suffered from the depredations of the chiefs of the Isle of Kish in the Persian Gulf (Jaubert's *Idrīsī*, I, pp. 152, 153), and in the first half of the fourteenth century Ibn Baṭūta only gives it a place in the list of towns mentioned in n. 2, p. 70.

Marco Polo passed from Kalhāt to Hormuz without noticing the intervening ports, and the identification of the Soer which traded in horses with the Indian coast with Sohār has already been discussed (§ 37, p. 64, n. 2). Sohār is the starting-point of a well-marked route from the coast into the interior of 'Omān through a mountain pass which was traversed in 1875 by Col. S. B. Miles (see *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1877, Part I, p. 41 sq., and the accompanying map).

Sohār submitted to Afonso d'Albuquerque on his first expedition to Hurmuz in 1507, and escaped the fate of other important towns on the 'Omān coast. The *Commentaries* give a glowing description of the town and its fertile neighbourhood. It may be noted that though he praises the horses, he says nothing of any export trade in them. The Portuguese lost Sohār finally in 1643, while Maskat remained in their possession a little longer.

¹ *Roçaque* (Rosach in Spanish version). This name cannot be found in any other authority, but it may, with great probability, be identified with the ruined and deserted nameless town a few miles from Sohār, which was passed by Col. Miles on the journey alluded to in the last note. The remains of towers and walls were visible, and popular tradition represented it as a former possession of the Persians. This may well be the fort held by the rulers of Hurmuz. A place called El-Tārsakah is shown on Badger's map on the coast just to the N.W. of Sohār.

² *Mael* is given in Ribero's map on the coast north of Sohār, but cannot be otherwise identified. The Spanish version calls it Mabel.

³ *Profame* is given in the Spanish version as Corfasan, and Ribero has Corfacan, but places it beyond Cape Musandām, inside the Persian Gulf. In the history of De Barros (*Dec. II*, f. 24) and in the *Commentaries of Afonso D'Albuquerque* (I, 94 f.) it is called Orfação. [In the German atlas Corsacan; there is also another place inland a long way off called Orfacan; both these seem to be corruptions of the name in the text Khor Fakān.—St.]. No doubt these names are derived from the Ar. Khor Fakān, which, however, does not occur in the text. It seems to have been a thriving place, but was destroyed by Albuquerque in 1507, and apparently never recovered, as we hear nothing more of it. It was on the open sea, south of Cape Musandām, but not far

places are gardens and farms in plenty, which Moors of high standing hold on this mainland, whither they go to take their pleasure, and to gather in the fruits and increase of their lands.

Passing above this place Profam, we come to another called Julfar,¹ where dwell persons of worth, great navigators and wholesale dealers. Here is a very great fishery as well of seed-pearls as of large pearls, and the Moors of Ormus come hither to buy them and carry them to India and many other lands. The trade of this place brings in a great revenue to the King of

from it, as De Barros says it was very near Ormuz, and that Albuquerque took in water there, as he heard there was none to be had at Ormuz. It may be identified with the Arabic Khor-Fakān, which is shown on the map accompanying Curzon's *Persia*, Vol. II. This identification under Orfação is made by Danvers in App. D, Vol. II, *Portuguese in India*. He, however, wrongly says it is in the Persian Gulf, and in his text (I, p. 161) calls it Khan Fakān. Khor is the Arabic *Khawr*, a creek or torrent-bed.

¹ The places which follow, as far as they can be identified, are in the Persian Gulf beyond the Straits of Ormuz.

Julfār is known as Varthema's place of call on his journey from Gujārāt to Maskat (*Varthema*, p. 93, and Introduction, p. 1). It is situated west of Cape Musandam and was used as a pearl-fishery station as Barbosa remarks.

It is alluded to by Pedro Alvares Cabral, in his *Navegação*, as "Julfar (Gulfal in Ramusio's Italian version: *Ramusio*, ed. 1563, Vol. I, f. 124 D), a small isle in the midst of the Persian Sea, in which there is a notable pearl-fishery," from which it would seem that the author confused it with the Bahrain Islands, as Julfār is on the mainland.

In the Hakluyt Society edition of *Varthema*, already quoted, a version made from the first Italian edition of 1510, the name is spelt Guilfar, but Ramusio (l.c. f. 156 A) gives it the more correct form of Julfar.

The Rev. G. P. Badger, in his notes 1 and 2 on p. 93 of *Varthema*, alludes to the erratic nature of Varthema's voyage in an Arab ship from Goa, viz. Gogo in Gujurāt (see § 54) first to Julfar through the straits of Hurmuz, then back through the straits of Muskat, and finally back again to Hurmuz, which had previously been passed twice in going through the straits. It seems probable that Varthema's voyage was really made to Dhofār (§ 38), which name is spelt Diufar in the Spanish version, and Diulfar in Ramusio's version of Barbosa.

Reinel's Paris map of 1516 also gives the form Diulfar (Denucé, *Cartographie Portugaise*, p. 129, Map 5 a). Dr. Denucé in his notes (4 and 5) seems also to consider that Diufar, which occurs on the list close to Cape Partach is the "Guilfar" of Varthema. It is clear that a voyage first from the Indian coast to Dhofār (a much more important place of trade than Julfār), then to Maskat, and thence to Ormuz, would be a much more obvious course than the supposed journey to Julfār.

Ormuz, and all the other places as well yield him revenue.

Beyond these Profam villages are others along the coast, one of which is a large place called Reçoyma¹; beyond that yet another with a fortress, called Calvam,² which the King of Ormuz maintains there for the defence of his lands, inasmuch as behind all these Moors dwell many Moors of the nature of wild Arabs who are under the rule of Xeques. These from time to time come down upon these villages and make war on them, and this folk often rebels against its king.

§ 41. THE KINGDOM OF ORMUS IN PERSIA.

THIS same King of Ormuz holds many villages and inhabited lands along the coast of Persia. These I shall name here, each one separately, and I shall afterwards go on to tell of the Isle of Ormuz, and of the

¹ *Reçoyma* stands for Rāsu'l-Khaima on the Persian Gulf or Western side of the Musandām promontory. The name is given as Raçolhiman in the Spanish version, Racolmia in Ribero, Rachollima in Ramusio. Rāsu'l-Khaima is, according to the Rev. G. P. Badger (*Imams and Sayyids of 'Oman*, p. 332, note), identical with Julfār, the former being the modern and the latter the ancient name, and on his map he shows them as the same place. The text, however, clearly shows that they were distinct when they became known to the Portuguese, though no doubt not far apart.

[Roccalima in the Atlas of Abraham Ortelius, Antwerp, 1570, the Ras-el-Khyma of Captain Felix Jones's chart and other modern maps.]

² This passage differs considerably from that in the Spanish version, which reads as follows (Stanley's trans.):

"Further along the coast of the Persian Sea, in the before-mentioned inner part, are three other places belonging to the King of Ormuz: Raçolhiman, which is a good town at a distance of twenty-four leagues (i.e., from Julfār) and another beyond this called Malquehoan [probably Amulgowein of Captain F. Jones] and six leagues further on there is a fortress called Culba."

For Melquehoan, which does not occur here, Ribero has Melhohā and Ramusio Mcquehoan.

Calvam, or Calba, is probably also in the Southern part of the Musandām peninsula. The inhabitants still bear a bad character, and this neighbourhood is known as the Pirate Coast.

City which stands thereon, and of the said king and his customs.¹

On the coast of Persia, going towards India, the King of Persia² holds a good town called Bayam,³ the inhabitants whereof are respectable persons, and there he maintains his governors, who bring him in large revenues. Passing this place there is another, also on the coast, called Devyxar, and passing this another called Saquion; beyond which, along the coast, are many little places, among them one named Nabando,⁴ whence much sweet water is conveyed to Ormus in small craft known as *teradas*, which water they take thither for the people of the city to drink, inasmuch as there is no water whatsoever on that isle; so that from this and other places they must carry to Ormus

¹ The list of places given under this section as in Persia includes some on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf. The whole list is extremely confused, and like all those shown in contemporary maps has evidently been compiled without personal knowledge. But few of these places can be identified.

² Here for Persia read Ormuz. Persia is here evidently a slip of the copyist. The Spanish version and Ramusio have Ormuz.

³ Bayam, Devyxar and Saquion appear in the Spanish version as Baha, Dexar and Xahen, and Ribero's map shows these places along the Arabian coast continuing from Calva. None of them have been identified. The names Ygun and El-Goedun in the Spanish version and in Ribero's map, and Iguir and El-Guadim in Ramusio, are not in the Portuguese text.

⁴ Nabando, which is here inserted, is found further on in the list in the Spanish version, followed by Ribero. It is evidently, however, a place on the Persian coast near Ormuz, as it was one of the places whence that town derived its water supply. It is also mentioned in the *Commentaries of D'Albuquerque* (I, 139 and II, 211) as "on the mainland on the eastern coast of the Persian Gulf," and "five leagues from Ormuz," and is identified by the editor with Nobend. The spelling there is Nabandé, and it was evidently, from the narrative, close to the Island of Kishm. The cape and river of Naiband, which perhaps are the Nobend alluded to, are about 300 miles west of Ormuz, and evidently their identification with Nabanda is impossible. The port of Nabanda, mentioned in II, 211 of the same work, is described as a port of the "Guzerates," and the identification there made with the Persian Gulf port is inadmissible.

The true identification is doubtless with Naiband, at the mouth of a stream close to Bandar 'Abbās, and immediately opposite the Isle of Hurmuz (see the map in Sykes' *History of Persia*, Vol. II).

all kinds of food, flesh and fruit, whereof great plenty in all sorts is furnished. Beyond this place Nabando is another called Gánda,¹ and thence onward are many places [of the same king], to wit,

¹ Gánda, which follows Nabanda in Barbosa's list, is given in the form Guanmeda in the Spanish version, and Guameda in Ribero's map and Ramusio. This and the following places Quejas and Ditabala were no doubt supposed to be on the Arabian coast, as they were followed by Beroaquem (Berohu in the Spanish, Ribero and Ramusio), which is no doubt the Bahrain Islands. Quejas and Ditabala are represented in Ramusio and Ribero's map by Lefete, Quesebi and Tabla. The Spanish version omits Tabla, and states at this point that here the coast turns N.W. by N. as far as the mouth of the Euphrates. Then the Spanish version, Ramusio and Ribero continue the list as follows:

<i>Ramusio.</i>	<i>Spanish.</i>	<i>Ribero.</i>
—	Berohu	Berohu.
—	Galjar.	Caljar.
Paza.	Xuza.	Xuza.
Mohi)	Mohimasim.	{ Mohi.
Macini)		
Limahorbaz.	{ Lima.	Lima.
	{ Gorbaz.	Horbaz.
Alguefa.	Alguefa.	Algefa.
Carmon.	Carmon.	Carmon.
—	Bazera, a castle of Sophi.	

All these places Ribero arranges along the Arabian coast (omitting El-Katif, the only place of importance). After Carmon he has the Rio de Cocora, somewhere about the position of Koweit, and then at the mouth of the Shatta'l-'Arab he adds the legend, "Hasta aqui llegaron los Portugueses," i.e., "The Portuguese arrived as far as this." Possibly this may have taken place during the Bahrain expedition in 1521, but there is no record of it.

The list which M. Denucé has compiled from Reinel's map of 1517 is better than any of these. It seems to start from the mouth of the Euphrates and to read down the Arabian coast as far as Ajar, and then to return to Basra and continue along the Persian coast to Ormuz.

The first part is as follows:

Y feleq—probably Felej or Felek I.

quem.

talalhar.

Chagumbam—Shug?

Portos d'agoa doce.

Ranca.

O abey. Abu'Ali I?

Atamalde.

Catife—El-Katff.

Y de barem omde haas muytas perlas.

Bahrain Is.

Aquer.

Ayar. Ajer, or Hajar.

Here the identification of Katif admits of no doubt, and Ayar is doubtless the modern Hajar or Ajer, the al-Hajar of Ibn Batûta.

The omission of Katif in most of these lists is enough to show that they were based on no real knowledge; for Katif, owing to its water

Quejas,	Corgam,
Ditabala,	Gostaquem,
Beroaquem,	Quongo,
Lyma, ¹	Bachorovai,
Orvazar Befar,	Ominam, which is a very
Armam,	fine fort,
Bardens,	Coar ;

supply and its position at the end of a long chain of oases, has always been the starting-point of the caravans which cross Arabia from the Persian Gulf to Mecca. Ibn Batūta made his journey thence to Mecca via Al-Hasā (Hofūf) and Yemāma in 1332. He found Katif to be a flourishing town in the possession of Shī'a heretics, thence he went to Hajar, which included the towns of Al-hasā (the coast province), thence to the oasis of Al-Yemāma (alias Hajar), and finally to Mecca. (Defrémery's *Ibn Batūta*, II, p. 248), and most modern travellers have followed this track (Hogarth, *Penetration of Arabia*, p. 234 ff.).

It must have been known to the Portuguese at the time of Alboquerque's second expedition to Hurmuz, as it formed the subject of negotiations with the Shah of Persia at that time (*Commentaries* (V, 153). Shortly afterwards, in 1521, when Diogo Lopez de Sequeira was Governor, the Portuguese joined in an expedition of the Chief of Hurmuz Tūrān Shāh against the Bahrain Islands and Katif in the "kingdom of Lasah," i.e., the country of Al-Hasā, of which Katif is the principal port and Al Hofūf the most important town. The ruler of this place, Mocrim (i.e. Mukarram), had refused to pay the tribute due by him. This expedition under Antonio de Correa landed in the Bahrain Islands. Mukarram was defeated and killed. His successor submitted, and before returning to Hurmuz Correa crossed from the island to Katif on the mainland, and left a Portuguese garrison at Katif. (See De Barros, *III*. vi, Cap. 3. 4, 5.)

¹ The places on the Persian or Northern coast of the Gulf are also much confused, and not given in regular order, but a few well-known places can be identified.

Lyma is probably *Linga*, the port lying on the coast west of Kishm Island. In the Spanish version the name is followed by Gorbaz and in Ribero's map by Horbaz, which Ramusio joins into one word as Limahorbaz. This is no doubt the Orvazar Befar of the text.

Armam seems to be the Carmon of the other authorities, and is undoubtedly Gambrūn on the Straits of Hurmuz, which was the English trading settlement from the early part of the seventeenth century, and is now known as Bandar 'Abbās. See the plate facing p. 257 in the Eng. Ed. of Tavernier (1678), "The Plattforme of Gomrom or Bandar 'Abbās."

Corgam is probably the island of Khārak and its immediate neighbour, the small island of Khāraḳu or Corgo, a group not far from Bushire. Its position has given it importance from time to time, and it became an important trading centre under the Dutch after they had been expelled from Basra in 1748. It was also temporarily occupied by the English in 1838 and 1857. (See Curzon's *Persia*, II, pp. 403-405.) (Not in the Spanish version or Ribero's map.)

Quongo or Congo, which also is not in the Spanish version, is the port of Kangun (52° 10' E. 27° 50' N.) which was afterwards occupied by the

and between these are yet other villages which, albeit small, have much trade. These I name not here, as I have no such trustworthy information thereon. Suffice it that they are all inhabited by worthy folk, and that solid merchants dwell among them.¹

Portuguese and was a well-known port (Curzon's *Persia*, II, p. 406). "Bandar Congo" also appears in the Plate in Tavernier, mentioned above under *Armam*.

Ominam, that is O Minām, the Mināo or Mināb River (Manahāo Xamile in the Spanish version, p. 36.) This river was the site of Old Hurmuz, and of the ancient Harmozia, the place where Nearchus landed. Its good water supply and fertility have made it always a place of importance, and according to Sir Percy Sykes it is still a favourite resort of the people of Bandar 'Abbās (Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, pp. 85 and 301-304, and Curzon, *Persia*, II, p. 406, where the port of Mināo is said to bear also the name of Sif). Floyer gives a very favourable description of Mināb and its river (*Unexplored Baluchistan*, p. 180).

¹ The Spanish version after the list given in n. 1, p. 76, ending with Carmon, continues: "At the entrance of the river Euphrates the land turns to the sea in a southerly direction eight leagues and then returns as much again to the north, and after that then turns again to the south, when there begin these towns." This is followed by Ribero's map, which shows a long peninsula running south-east between the mouth of the Shatta-l'Arab and the Persian coast. This may be due to a tradition of the sandy peninsula near 'Oballah, on which flares were lighted to guide ships, according to Mas'ūdī (see Sprenger's *Mas'ūdī*, p. 259, Barbier de Maynard, p. 270). The list that follows here gives the names as found in both these authorities:—

<i>Ribero.</i>	<i>Spanish.</i>
Comobarque.	Cohomo.
Guez.	Barque Guec.
Honguon.	Ganguan.
Basida.	Basido.
Goxtaäg.	Goxtaque.
Concha.	Conch.
Congu.	Conga.
barahem.	Ebrahemi.
raner.	
xenase.	xenase.
Manahao	Menahao Xamile.
Xamile.	
Leitum.	Leytam.
—andom.	Bamtani.
Doan.	Doani.
Loron.	Lorom.

Ribero shows all these names continuously without a break, but the Spanish version after Ebrahemi says: "and as far as this there are one hundred and sixty-five leagues," and after Doani it says: "and from this point the coast trends to the east for a distance of thirty leagues as far as Lorom."

Congu or Conga is the Quongo of the Portuguese text, mentioned above. None of the others can be identified except Guez, which is probably the island of Kish mentioned below (§ 42, n. 1.)

The King of Ormus also holds many fortresses for the inland defence of his country, [and all on the said coast of the Persian Sea] places well supplied with great store of flesh, wheat, barley, fruit of many kinds, grapes, and dates of divers sorts like those we have in these parts. And in all these places the people, both men and women, are of fair complexions and good breeding; they are clad in long cotton and silk garments, and others dyed in grain, and in camlets, and the whole of this land is very rich.

§ 42. THE ISLANDS OF THE KINGDOM OF ORMUS.

THE actual island on which stands the city of Ormus is between the coasts of Arabia and Persia, at the mouth of the Persian Sea, and within this sea are scattered many isles pertaining to the same King of Ormus and under his governance, the which are as follows:¹

The earliest survey of this coast left by the Arab geographers is that of Mas'ūdī who mentions the following places between the Shatt-al-'Arab and the Straits of Hurmuz:

Persian Daurak.

Mahrubān.

Sinīz or Shīnīz (which gave its name to the Sinīzi brocades).

Jannābah (from which the Jannābiya cloth was named).

Najīram, dependent on Sīrāf.

The land of the Ibn Amāra.

The coast of Karmān or Hurmuz which is opposite to Sinjār (read Sohār) in 'Omān.

Of these possibly Najīram may stand for the island of Jarm on which the later town of Hurmuz stood. Karmān is the Carmon of p. 76, n. 1, and p. 77, n. 1, *i.e.*, Gambrūn, which is not far from the site of Hurmuz in Mas'ūdī's time.

Sinīz and Jannābah according to Yāqūt, were situated in the northern part of the Persian Gulf between Basrah and Sīrāf. Sinīz was deserted in his time, having been sacked by the Karmathian heretics in A.H. 321 (*i.e.*, 333 A.D.) shortly after Mas'ūdī's visit.

Jannābah was on the coast facing the Isle of Khārak. Mahrubān lay to the north of it, and Sinīz to the south.

¹ The list here given of the islands in the Persian Gulf gives all the principal islands which can be identified at present, with the exception

First Queixime, a large and fertile island, whence come to Ormus much fresh fruit and herbs; and there are large villages therein.

Then after this there is another called Andra, another Bascarde, and others, Laracoar, Fomon, and Firol. Passing this Isle of Firol there is another great

of Kais, which was not subject to the rulers of Hormuz. The Spanish version and Ramusio give longer lists, adding the name of Cuyx or Quixi (Kais) and three other unidentified islands, Quiro or Quuro, Melugan or Melungan, and Gory or Cori.

The omission by Barbosa of Kais or Kish was natural, as it had lost all importance at that period. Its mention by the editor of the Spanish version (probably Diego Ribero, the cosmographer) was no doubt due to his familiarity with earlier narratives such as that of Marco Polo. It was so much forgotten that the Turkish naval commander, Sidi 'Ali, in 1553 confused it with Old Hurmuz, 200 miles distant (see Note 3, p. 453, Vol. II, Yule and Cordier's *Marco Polo*).

The most important and flourishing port in the Persian Gulf, in the early days of Arab rule, was Sirāf, the modern Tahiri (27° 40' N., 52° 12' E.), which is situated on the coast at the foot of the mountains, midway between Bushire on the N.W., and Kish on the S.E. As early as the end of the seventh century it was wealthy and strong enough to send out expeditions to China by way of Maskat (Sykes, *History of Persia*, II, p. 76). Its prosperity continued till the twelfth century. For its trade in the tenth century see *Mas'ūdī* (Sprenger, pp. 305 to 343), where details of the trade between Sirāf and China are given, and it was compared to Shirāz by Kazvini and held by Muḥaddasi to be the rival of Baghdād (Le Strange, *Lands of Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 257-259). Its ruin seems to have been mainly due to the rise of the predatory trading centre on the island of Kais or Kish (the first being the Arabic and the second the Persian form of the name), and Yāqūt early in the thirteenth century found it in ruins.

Khārak was also of some importance in Yāqūt's time, but Kish had no doubt monopolized most of the trade.

The rise of Kish, according to the *Fārs-nāma* (twelfth century), was due to its Amīr Ruknu'd-daula, Khumārtigin (Le Strange, *l.c.*, p. 259), who by his name must have been of Turkish origin, but Idrīsī, writing at about the same period, says that the prince of Kish was derived from Yemen, and by his raids diverted the trade from the ports of 'Omān (especially Sohār) to 'Adan, and carried his plundering raids as far as Zang (*i.e.*, the East Coast of Africa) on the one side, and as far as Kambāyat in India on the other (Jaubert's *Idrīsī*, I, pp. 147, 152, 171).

Old Hurmuz on the mainland of Persia was, however, already rising into importance in the twelfth century, as described by Idrīsī (*l.c.* II, p. 424), and by the commencement of the fourteenth century Kish had gone down in the world. Marco Polo probably did not visit it. His mention of "Kisi" is a very cursory one, while he expatiates on the glory of Hurmuz. The same may be said of Ibn Batūta at the same period. He sailed for Bahrain and Katīf from Sirāf, which he says was also called Kais, of so little importance were these famous places in his time (Ibn Batūta, *l.c.* II, p. 245).

See the remarks on the shifting of the trade centres in the Persian Gulf in *Cathay* (Yule and Cordier, Vol. I, p. 84 ff. and notes) and also the Rev. G. P. Badger's Postscript to his *Imāms and Sayyids of Imām, H.S.*

island called Barem, wherein dwell many merchants and other worthy folk. This island is well placed in the midst of the Persian Sea, so that many ships with much merchandise sail thither. Around it grows much seed-pearl, also large pearls of good quality. The merchants of the island itself fish for these pearls, and have

1871, p. 411, ff. Mr. Badger maintains that Sirāf recovered part of its trade in the latter part of the thirteenth century, but it would seem probable that Abulfeda's account, on which he relies, was based on older records of its prosperity. It could hardly have recovered so quickly from the devastation described by Yākūt. But the whole question deserves detailed study.

Kais or Kish appears under various forms in modern maps. According to the note in Yule and Cordier's *Cathay*, p. 144, Note 2, it is called Guase 'or Kenn in Stieler's Hand Atlas. Guase is apparently intended to represent Ches. Better authorities are the map in Curzon's *Persia*, which gives Kcis, that in Floyer's *Unexplored Baluchistan*, which gives Kais, and that in Sykes' *History of Persia*, Vol. II (by far the best yet published), which follows the Arabic spelling *Qais*.

Other islands in the Gulf which can be identified are given in the last-named map as follows:

<i>Bartosa's</i> <i>Portuguese form.</i>	<i>Other authorities.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>
1. Queixame.	Queximi in the Spanish version.	Kishm I.
2. Andra.	Ceixeme in Rainel. Andrany (Sp.). Andravy in Rainel.	Hinderābi I.
3. Bascarde	Baxeal (Sp.).	probably Bushire.
4. Laracour.	Lar Cojur (Sp.). Lara (Rainel).	Lārak I.
5. Fomon (<i>read</i> Tomon).	Sp. Tomon. Dome (Ramusio).	Tumb. I.
6. Firol.	Firror (Sp.). Guolar.	Farūr I.
7. Barem.	Baharem (Sp.).	Bahrain Is.
The Melungan of Ramusio, Melugān of the Spanish version, may be Hanjām I.		

The identification of Bushire or Būshahr with Bascarde or Baxeal is doubtful but not improbable, as it was already known in Yākūt's time (*Le Strange, Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 261).

It is, however, doubtful whether the word in Yākūt should not be read Rishahr (see M. Streck in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, s.v. Būshhr.) Rishahr was the older town which has now become a suburb of Bushahr. The latter became really important first in Nādir Shāh's time.

Kishm is the only island among those mentioned which requires separate mention. The best accounts of this large island are those given in Curzon's *Persia*, II, pp. 410-413, Floyer's *Unexplored Baluchistan*, pp. 127-135, and Sykes's *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 289.

In the earliest authorities the name Kishm is not used. Idrisi in the first half of the twelfth century calls it "the island of Ibn Kawān, and Yākūt, in the thirteenth century, "Lāfat," and "the island of the Bani Kawān"; but while Idrisi speaks of it as of some importance,

therefrom great profits, and the King of Ormus draws from it a large sum in revenues and duties. Hither come the Ormus merchants to purchase the seed-pearls and the large pearls, and these they carry away and sell in India, whereby they have great gains. They also go to buy pearls in the kingdom of Narsingua and throughout Arabia and Persia. These pearls and seed-pearls are found everywhere in this Persian Sea from Barem to the inner side of Ormus, but the greatest plenty of them is in Barem.

§ 43. LANDS OF THE XEQUE ISMAEL.

FURTHER in advance, and leaving these Isles of Barem in the midst of this sea, there are many towns and places inhabited by Moors of worth, and these lands are fertile and rich. And from this isle onwards the seignory¹ no longer pertains to the King of Ormus, for that here comes to an end; but there are other seignories, regarding which we have no knowledge nor certitude, only this, that from here on all are in subjection to the Xequé Ismael.¹ He is a young Moor

Yākūt says it was probably deserted as he never even heard it mentioned during his travels (Jaubert's *Idrisi*, I, p. 398, Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, s.v. Lāfet). In the fourteenth century, according to Mustaufi, it was of some importance (*Mesopotamia and Persia under the Mongols in the Fourteenth Century*, Le Strange, p. 73).

It is clear from Barbosa's notice that it was well inhabited and cultivated when the Portuguese became acquainted with it during their expeditions against Hurmuz, and it was, in fact, one of the principal sources of supply for fresh vegetables and fruit, on which that barren and waterless island relied.

The Bahrain Islands, although included here, belong properly to the Arabian Coast, where also they are mentioned. See § 41. The island here given in the form Barem is there spelt Beroaquem, the Arabic β being as elsewhere hardened into a *k* sound, cf. Soquiar for Sohār. (§ 40).

¹ Xequé Ismael is the name by which the Portuguese always alluded to Isma'il Shāh, the founder of the Safavī kingdom of Persia, who reigned from 1502 till 1524. The use of the title of Xequé or Sheikh has misled Mr. W. de G. Birch in his introduction to the *Commentaries*

who has of late attained this high position, and has brought under his rule a great part of Arabia and Persia, and many kingdoms and seignories of the Moors, not being a king nor the son of a king but only the son of a Xequé of the lineage of Ali.¹ He, being yet a child when this man died, went to live with an Armenian friar, who brought him up. Being then of the age of twelve years he fled away, lest he should slay him as a

(Vol. II, p. li) where he speaks of an "Arab Sheikh Ismael" who had "arrived to receive the yearly tribute paid to him by the king of Ormuz." This was in reality an official of Isma'il Shāh sent to demand the tribute payable by the Chiefs of Hurmuz.

No doubt this was the form in which the new king was spoken of at this early period, as his ancestors had no higher title, and he was often taunted by his enemies with his obscure origin. For instance, in 1510, Shaibānī the Uzbek leader sent him a faqīr's staff and bowl as an intimation that he was descended from a religious mendicant. As a matter of fact the family had long been known for their sanctity, and were called the Sheikhs of Ardabil. Isma'il's grandfather had, however, married a sister of Uzun Ḥasan, the Prince of the Karā Kuyunlu or Black Sheep, who had extensive dominions (with his capital at Diyārbekr), and his son Ḥaidar, father of Isma'il, married Uzur Ḥasan's daughter, so that Isma'il was not of an altogether obscure family. The Sheikhs of Ardebīl claimed descent from the Imām Mūsā Kāzīm, and had long been the principal supporters of the Shī'a doctrine, which was widely spread in Persia.

¹ Here the Spanish version and Ramusio's state that 'Ali was brother-in-law of Muhammad, a mistake not made in Barbosa's Portuguese. The passage which here follows as to Isma'il's residence with an Armenian friar and afterwards with a certain great lord is not given either by the Spanish version or Ramusio. On the other hand, they both insert below (after the statement that Isma'il took to himself other youths) a long passage describing the customs of the sect which is not to be found here (Stanley's trans., p. 38, l. 21 to p. 39, l. 5).

Ramusio's account is almost identical with the Spanish (see Third Ed., 1563, Vol. I, p. 293).

It reads as follows:

"And they began to go about naked, which is customary among them, leaving goods, honour and clothing behind, and covered themselves only with skins of goats and bears and deer, and their own hair which they wear very long. On their arms and chests they have many scars of fire, and on their backs or around them they carry many iron chains and in their hands they carry arms different from those borne by others, such as little axes and many and divers kinds of iron weapons; and they go about on pilgrimages and live only on alms; and to all such great respect is shown whithersoever they go, and they are entertained by the other Moors and they shout and cry as they go in the name of Macometto. Their Siech Ismael took this habit and settled to shout and cry for Hali and cared not for Macometto."

Moor, and went to dwell in a certain great city, where he lodged with a great lord, with whom he grew in favour, insomuch that he set him on horseback and gave him a good post. Thenceforward he began to take to himself other Moorish youths, and gathered together much people. Little by little he began to take villages, and to make gifts of the goods and the wealth which he found therein to those who followed after him in such ventures, keeping nothing for himself. Seeing then that his affairs had made such a good beginning, he determined to have a badge of his own,¹ and thereto he let make red caps of cloth dyed in grain, and delivered them to such persons as would be of his sect. And so it was that he gathered to himself a great number of followers, and then he began to take great towns and to wage many wars, yet notwithstanding this he would not call himself king, nor stay in any one kingdom. What things soever he takes in war he deals out to those who help him to win; and if he finds any persons who make no use of their wealth, and do no service therewith to any, then he takes it from them and distributes it equally to the worthy men of his army whom he knows to be in want; and to the real owner of the property he gives as much as to each one of them. Hence some Moors call him "the Leveller," but his true name is Xequé Ismael, and this is his wont: he sends his ambassadors to all the Moorish kings, and demands that they shall wear

¹ The "red caps" or *Kizil-bāsh* were not in reality a personal badge of Isma'īl, but denoted the members of the seven Turkic tribes of Northern Persia, who were devoted Shi'as, and his principal supporters in his early career. Two of these tribes came prominently into notice in connection with the fall of the Safavi kingdom in the eighteenth century, viz., the Afshār and the Kājār. Nādir Shāh was an Afshār, and the present royal house of Persia belongs to the Kājār tribe.

The name of *Kizil-bāsh* is still borne in Afghanistan by the descendants of Nādir Shāh's warriors who settled in Kābul.

the red caps as his badge, and if they will not wear these badges they are to challenge them, and give them to know that he will pursue after them, and take their lands from them, and compel them to believe in him. In this manner he sent an embassy to the Great Soldan and to the Grand Turk, who after taking counsel together, sent an evil answer by his ambassadors, determining to defend themselves against him, and to render aid each to the other. Xequé Ismael then, seeing their replies, at once made ready to go against the Turk with a great army of foot and horse, and so came to seek him, who on his part sallied forth to meet him, in nowise ill-arrayed. Thus between these two there was a great battle, in which the Turk was conqueror by reason of the mighty artillery which he brought with him, in which the Xequé was altogether lacking, for he and his people fight only with the strength of their arms. Here the Turks slew many of his people, and he took to flight. The Turk followed in pursuit, still slaying many, until he arrived in the land of Persia, whence he turned back to Turkey. This was the first time that the Xequé Ismael had been overcome, by which he was greatly grieved, and determined to meet the Turk another time, but provided with artillery and in much greater strength than before.¹

¹ This account of Shāh Isma'il's war with Sultān Selīm, the "Grand Turk" of the narrative, is in close correspondence with the actual events, which Barbosa had no doubt heard of from the Persians who accompanied the Embassy to Hurmuz. It is remarkable for its assertion that the victory of the Turks was due to their heavy artillery, a fact not mentioned by De Barros in his otherwise excellent account of the rise and reign of Shah Isma'il in *Dec. II*, Book x, Ch. 6. Compare the account (based on v. Hammer Purgstall) given by Sir P. Sykes in his *History of Persia* (1915), Vol. II, p. 245-6.

The fact that Isma'il Shāh after his defeat by the Turks showed a desire to form an alliance with the Portuguese was no doubt partly due to the reputation they had obtained by their artillery in the naval combats, especially that at Diu, and the desire to obtain their assistance against the increasing power of Selīm.

This Xequé Ismael is lord over Babilonia, Armenia, the whole of Persia, a great part of Arabia, part of India, over against Cambaya, and his determination is to have the House of Meca in his hands. He sent an embassy to the Captain-in-Chief¹ of the King our

¹ The relations between Albuquerque and Shāh Isma'īl began during the first Portuguese expedition against Hurmuz in 1508. This is described in Vol. I, p. 145, of the *Commentaries*, but a fuller account is given by De Barros (*II*, Book ii, Ch. 4, fol. 33b and 34).

The ambassadors came to demand tribute from the rulers of Hurmuz, which Shāh Isma'īl claimed was due to him as king of Persia. The minister Khwāja 'Attār consulted Albuquerque, who suspected a trick of the ministers to avoid paying the Portuguese tribute, and dictated a spirited answer to the delegates, sending them some cannon-balls, spear-heads and sheaves of arrows, saying that the dependants of the King of Portugal would always be supplied with coin of that sort if demands for tribute were made on them by others. He added that he was building a fortress there which he would fill with such coin and where he would keep valiant knights, and that application for payment might be made there.

The second occasion on which Albuquerque came into contact with Shāh Isma'īl's agents was in 1510, after he had taken Goa. He found there ambassadors from Isma'īl and from the ruler of Hurmuz to the Sabaio. The title may have been used by the 'Ādilshāhi Sultāns themselves, as we find here the phrase "Sabaym Hydalcam" applied to these rulers (§ 73. p. 172, n. 1).

The *Commentaries* (II, 107) says :

"But whereas they found he (*i.e.* the Sabaio) was dead, after the fall of the city, although it was the intention of the ambassador who came from Xequé Ismael to proceed on his mission to the Hidalcão, the son of the Sabaio, according to the instructions he had received from his lord, nevertheless, in that he was a discreet man and understood the position of affairs, he took no notice of these instructions, but sent word to Afonso Dalboquerque begging that he would be pleased to grant him an audience."

The ambassador then related that he had been sent to Hurmuz by his king to visit Albuquerque, but finding that he had gone to India he had followed him there. He then offered him Persian assistance to subdue Hurmuz. Albuquerque replied that he needed no help against Hurmuz, but that it would be to the interest of the Shāh to ally himself with the Portuguese against the Turk and the Grand Soldan of Cairo, pointing out that the King of Portugal made war on these powers not only in the Indian Ocean but in the Levant, and that he had himself intended to send an embassy to the Shāh to propose such an alliance. The ambassador immediately began to make extravagant claims, such as that the Portuguese should put pressure on the Goanese Musalmans to adopt the Shī'a creed, and also that the Shāh's coinage should pass current in Goa. Albuquerque rebuked him severely for speaking in this way, and the ambassador apologised, saying that these were the demands he had been instructed to make on the Sabaio, and that he thought it his duty to deliver them to him, as he had now succeeded to the Sabaio's power. He asked forgiveness and permission to depart. In the end Albuquerque dismissed him with a letter (which is given in full in the *Commentaries*, II, pp. 111-114) to the Shāh, and also sent with him Ruy Gomez as an ambassador. On arriving at

Lord with many presents, offering him alliance and peace, who received it very graciously, and sent in return another embassy and present.

Hurmuz, however, Ruy Gomez was poisoned by the orders of Khwāja 'Attār, the minister, who did not wish to see an agreement between Persia and Portugal, and the embassy came to nothing.

The third occasion was in 1513 after Albuquerque had returned from the Red Sea expedition. An ambassador sent to the Indian Kings arrived at Chaul, and Albuquerque received him well and sent back with him Miguel Ferreira as ambassador. This embassy was received by the Shāh at Shīrāz and every kind of compliment was exchanged. He returned in 1515 to Hurmuz, where Albuquerque then was (Correa, II, pp. 355-360 and 410-420). The *Commentaries* (IV, 86, give Tauriz (Tabriz) as the place where the embassy was received by Isma'īl. Both accounts expatiate on the valuable presents he received from the Shāh.

De Barros gives only a short mention of Miguel Ferreira's embassy without any details (*Dec. II*, Bk. x, f. 220). He regards it evidently as a subordinate one. Its importance consisted chiefly in an actual ambassador from Persia having come to Albuquerque at Hurmuz with Miguel Ferreira, and this led up to the next and more important embassy.

Correa's account is in great detail. He himself took down, as secretary, Ferreira's tale of his journey.

The fourth occasion was in the same year, 1515, after the final conquest of Hurmuz by Albuquerque, and this is that alluded to by Barbosa in the text. This was the genuine embassy with presents and ceremony, which was accordingly received by Albuquerque with all honour. A full account of it is given by De Barros (*l.c.* II, fol. 222b). There was nevertheless an underground intrigue instigated by Rais Hāmid, a Persian, who had succeeded to the post of Khwāja 'Attār, and it was not till after this man had been killed by Albuquerque's orders that the negotiations made any progress.

Certain preliminary demands were made as to trading rights, and free passage to the Bahrain Islands and to Katif, and the surrender of the trade-dues of Ormuz. As these were absolutely essential to Albuquerque he refused this demand *in toto*, but allowed free passage. He also agreed to assist the Shāh's Governor in Macram (Makrān) to recover possession of the port of Guadel (Gwādar) from the Nautagues (the Nōdhakī tribe of Baloches) who had defied the Shāh's agent. The *Chronicle of the Kings of Hurmuz* translated by Pedro Teixeira (*Travels of P. Teixeira*, H.S., p. 162) speaks of the "Moutaqui and Nichelu robbers that ever infest that sea," and Teixeira himself (p. 21) calls them "Arabs who dwell on the Persian Shore so called, and take their name from it." Pietro della Valle (I, p. 3) also speaks of Noteks as "Arabian thieves which rob upon that sea and frequently reside in the Island of Larākk." But the name is clearly Balochi, and is found at the present day in the forms of Nodhakī and Notakānī. Albuquerque pointed out, however, that all the trade with India must come to Hurmuz, and not to Gwādar, as he well perceived that the object was to free the trade from the dues which were levied at Hurmuz. Albuquerque was still anxious to negotiate a treaty, and sent Fernão Gomez de Lemos as ambassador to the Shāh's Capital. The ambassador was well received by the Shāh, but did not return to India until after Albuquerque's death, when the project was dropped by his incompetent successor, Lopo Soares D'Albergafia.

De Barros excuses himself for giving no further account of this

§ 44. THE FORTRESS OF BAÇORA.

HERE at the very end of this Persian Sea there is a right great fortress which they call Baçora,¹ inhabited

embassy and its journey, on the ground that a narrative had been written by Gil Simões, who accompanied it. This narrative, unfortunately, does not seem to be in existence.

Correa gives some further particulars (II, pp. 442-444). He states that the embassy arrived at the Persian capital, and was received by Isma'il Shāh, who was very angry when he learnt of the building of the fort at Hurmuz, and dismissed the embassy with scant ceremony, saying he would send a reply later.

See also the *Commentaries*, IV, pp. 150-159 and 175-178. The author also gives no account of what happened to Fernão Gomez, as he did not return till after Albuquerque's death.

The short account of these events in Whiteway's *Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, p. 162, puts the return embassy sent to Persia before the death of Rais Hāmid, and says it had to beat a hasty retreat out of Persia, which is not in any way borne out by the authorities quoted above. These important negotiations have not been adequately treated in any of the other modern works dealing with the subject. In Danver's *Portuguese in India*, I, p. 324, where the arrival of the Persian ambassador is mentioned, nothing is said of the despatch of the return embassy by Albuquerque. K. G. Jayne's *Vasco da Gama and his Successors*, pp. 94-96, also does not mention it.

¹ Baçora is the spelling of Basra usual among the Portuguese writers, and the form Bussorah still occasionally found in modern works is a continuation of it. It was itself derived from the Italian form Balsora, the *l* in which is perhaps a transposition of the Arabic article in El-Basrah. Marco Polo, however, has it in the form Bastra.

Its position on a great tidal estuary, the Shatta'l-'Arab, or joint stream of the Euphrates and Tigris, at the head of the Persian Gulf, made the position one of great importance for the Eastern trade from a very early period, and modern Basra, according to Mr. Le Strange, stands on the site of the more ancient port of 'Ubullah or Obolla, itself a successor to the Ubullu of Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions, the Apologos of the *Periplus*. El-Mas'ūdī, early in the tenth century, shows that 'Ubullah was then the entry to the port of Basra, and that near it beacons on platforms in the river, on which fires were kept burning at night, guided the ships of 'Omān and Sirāf through the dangerous navigation of the mouth of the Shatta'l-'Arab (*Mas'ūdī*, Ed. Barbier de Meynard, Vol. I, p. 230). An excellent account of its early history and the changes in its position and in the courses of the rivers is given by Mr. Le Strange in his *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 25-30 and 44-48; see also the article "Basra" in the *Encyclopædia of Islām*.

It was a dependance of Baghdād, and was generally held by the possessors of that great city. At the time of the Portuguese occupation of Hurmuz it attracted their attention, as it was the great emporium to which Hurmuz, like Kish and Sirāf before it, was the entrance gate. Barbosa was correct in saying that it was part of the dominions of Isma'il Shāh, and he and his successors held it as long as they held Baghdād. It was occupied by the Turks in 1534, after they had taken Baghdād, and with a few short intervals it has been held by them since.

by Moors who are subjects of the Xequé Ismael, at which place an extreme great and beautiful river of sweet water issues forth from the main to the sea, which the Moors call Euphrates, and they say that it is one of the four streams which come from the spring of the earthly Paradise.¹ Those Moors who are natives of that land say that it has an infinite number of branches. Of these other branches the principal is, they say, the river which they call Indio, which discharges itself in the kingdom of Vercinde in the First India, whence it takes its name: another which they call Ganges comes out in the Second India,² and the fourth, which is the Nile, comes out in the realm of the Preste João, and waters Cairo³; [and even though it be known that these be fables, yet it is necessary to write them down].

“And returning to our subject, many ships sail to this fortress of Baçora with great abundance of merchandize and spices and cotton cloths, and there they obtain plenty of wheat, and great store of butter, gingelly oil, barley, camlets and divers other wares. In a stream which passes near by this fortress are

¹ The mediæval legend that the various branches of the Euphrates and Tigris, originally flowing through the Earthly Paradise, re-appear as other great rivers, frequently appears in old travellers. Marco Polo found the Tigris as the Volga flowing into the Caspian Sea (Yule and Cordier's *Marco Polo*, I, p. 9, Note 5). Marignolli, travelling in the first half of the fourteenth century, placed the Earthly Paradise in Ceylon, and thence, he imagined, proceeded the four holy streams which he identified with the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Nile, and a river flowing into the Caspian sea, with characteristics of the Volga, the Oxus, the Hoang Ho and the Ganges (*Cathay*, III, 196 f. and 220 f.).

The Indus, flowing into the sea in Sind, is again mentioned in § 46. Vercinde is no doubt a copyist's mistake for Diulcipde. Ramusio here has Dahulcnde and the Spanish version Dahucino.

² The first and second Indias here alluded to are no doubt intended for Ptolemy's two Indias, within and beyond the Ganges. In practice, however, it would seem that the west and east coasts of India were understood to be denoted by these terms.

³ In the text here for *regra* read *rega*, “waters” or “irrigates.” Ramusio has *irriga*.

certain fishes which, the more they are boiled, or roasted, the more they bleed."¹

§ 45. THE FAIR CITY OF ORMUS.

COMING forth from this sea and from the Narrows, in the very mouth of these is an isle of no great size, on which stands the city of Ormus,² which is not so

¹ The description of Basra here given deals only with the articles of trade found there, and is no doubt derived entirely from hearsay, as neither Barbosa nor any other Portuguese had at that time visited the place, although ships had probably reached the mouth of the Shatta'l-'Arab. Ribero in his map (1529) has an entry at this point, "*hasta aqui llegaron los Portugueses.*" The first Portuguese expedition to reach Basra was that of Belchior de Sousa Tavares in 1529, described by De Barros in *Dec. IV*, Bk. iii, Ch. 13. At that time a local chief who was a Sunni had rebelled against Shāh Tahmāsp, and was in possession of Basra.

² Ormus or Ormuz is the usual spelling adopted by Portuguese travellers for the celebrated trading town of Hurmuz, situated on the small island of Jerūn in the straits still known on our maps as the Straits of Ormuz. Barbosa's account is of great value, being evidently derived from personal knowledge. It is the earliest account by a Portuguese writer of this place, and of the contemporary events which resulted in the establishment of Portuguese power there.

The original Hurmuz was a town on the Persian mainland, on the banks of the Mināb River. It was of great antiquity, the name being undoubtedly derived from the old Persian Ahura-mazda, which was the port of Harmozia on the Anamis River where Nearchos landed and beached his ships (*Arrian*, Ch. xxxiii). It succeeded as a trade depot in the middle ages to the position held in turn by Sirāf and Kish, but its position in the straits gave it a more powerful hold upon the trade of Baghdād and Basra than either of these places. On the other hand, its situation on the mainland laid it open to attack in troubled times and the inhabitants finally, about the year 1300, abandoned it and founded the new town of Hormuz on the neighbouring isle of Jerūn or Jeraun. Marco Polo visited the old town shortly before it was abandoned, and Odoric, in 1321, found it already established on the island. Ibn Bafūta (II, p. 230), while he mentions the old town as still existing in Mūghustān, devotes all his space to New Hurmuz on the island (which he calls Jeraun), and gives a glowing description of its trade. The remains of old Hurmuz are described by Sir L. Pelly, quoted by Sir H. Yule (Yule and Cordier's *Marco Polo*, I, xix, Note 1), (also by Floyer, *Unexplored Baluchistan*, p. 141; see also Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, pp. 85, 301-304).

Further details as to the history of Hurmuz are given by Yule and Cordier in the notes to Ch. xix of *Marco Polo's Travels*, and in *Cathay*, II, 112, also *s.v.* Ormus, Yule's *Hobson-Jobson* (Ed. Crooke). See also Curzon's *Persia*, II, pp. 413, 420, and Sykes, *Hist. of Persia*, II, p. 271 ff.

Le Strange (*Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 318, 319) gives full references to the Arab and Persian authorities on both Old and New

great as it is fair, with lofty stone and mortar houses with flat roofs and many windows ; and, because that country is very hot, all the houses are built in such wise as to make the wind blow from the highest to the lowest storeys when they have need of it.¹ This city is very well placed and laid out in streets with many good open places. Outside in the same isle is a little hill of rock-salt, also some brimstone, but very little. The salt is in blocks as large as great rocks in rugged hills ; it is called Indian salt, and is produced there by nature, and when ground it is exceeding white and fine.²

All ships which come to this city take it as ballast, for it is worth money at many places. The merchants of this isle and city are Persians and Arabs. The Persians [speak Arabic and another language which they call Psa,³] are tall and well-looking, and a fine and up-standing folk, both men and women ; they are stout and comfortable. They hold the creed of Mafamede in great honour. They indulge themselves greatly, so much so that they keep among them youths for purposes of abominable wickedness. They are also musicians, and have instruments of divers kinds. The Arabs are blacker and swarthier than they.

Hurmuz. According to these, a probable date for the abandonment of the old site and foundation of the new island town is A.H. 715 (1315).

¹ The allusion is to the Persian *bād-gir* or "wind-catcher," still common in that country. See the drawing in *Marco Polo*, l.c. II, 384.

² The rock-salt hills of Hurmuz and the salt caves of Kishm are described by Sir T. Holdich in *The Indian Borderland*, pp. 210, 211, and the caves of the neighbouring island of Henjām by Mr. Floyer in *Unexplored Baluchistan*, p. 125.

³ This passage is from Ramusio. There is nothing about languages in the Portuguese text. The enigmatical "Psa" probably stands for *Parsi*. Lord Stanley's translation from the Spanish gives it simply as "Persian."

In this city are many merchants of substance, and many very great ships. It has a right good harbour where many sorts of goods are handled which come hither from many lands, and from here they barter them with many parts of India. They bring hither spices of all sorts, and divers kinds, to wit¹ pepper, cloves, ginger, cardamoms, eagle-wood, sandal-wood, brasil-wood, myrobalans, tamarinds, saffron, indigo, wax, iron, sugar, rice (great store) and cocoa-nuts, as well as great abundance of precious stones,² porcelain and benzoin,³ by all of which they gain much money. They have also great plenty of Cambaya, Chaul

¹ This list of imports from India into Ormuz differs slightly from that given in Ramusio and in the Spanish version, which correspond closely with each other, the only exception being that indigo (*indyo* in the Portuguese text) is given as *indo* in Ramusio and omitted in the Spanish version. They both add mace and nutmeg (*nocí moscate* in Ramusio) to the Portuguese list.

Brazil-wood appears in Ramusio in the form *verzino*, the usual Italian name as used in the fourteenth century by Pegolotti. See M. Cordier's note to Fr. Odoric's *Travels in Cathay*, 2nd ed., Vol. II, p. 137, Note 1. This probably refers to the mention of "barked brazil-wood," by Pegolotti (*Cathay*, III, p. 267). Fr. Menetillus (end of thirteenth century) calls it *bersi* (*Cathay*, III, p. 62.) See also Yule's *Glossary*, 2nd ed., s.v. Brazil-wood and Sappan.

Aloes-wood (*legno d'aloe* of Ramusio) represents the Eagle-wood (*agwila*) of our text. See Yule, *l.c.*, s.v. Aloes and Eagle-wood. It is the aromatic wood of the *Aquilaria agallocha* and has nothing to do with the Socotrine aloes. The name is of Malayālam origin. Yule does not quote this passage, but alludes to another passage (p. 393 of the 1812 text and p. 384 of the reprint of 1867) in which Barbosa mentions in a list of products both *Aguila* and *Lenho aloes verdadeiro*. (See Table of Drugs at the end of Vol. II.)

² Instead of the phrase, "great abundance of precious stones," the Spanish version and Ramusio give a list of gems; rubies, sapphires, giagonzas, amethysts, topazes, chrysolites, hyacinths. Under giagonza Lord Stanley's note says [Zircon or jargon, a stone of which false diamonds are made.] See Yule's *Glossary*, 2nd ed., s.v., Jargon, etc.

³ Benzoin is a form of incense, the resin of the *Styrax benzoin*. Its Arabic name *lubān jawī* was given to distinguish it from the Arabian *lubān* or frankincense. *Jāwī* alludes to its origin in Jāwa or Java, a name which among the Arabs included Sumatra. Barbosa again alludes to it in §109, under the kingdom of Anseam, i.e., Siam, where he gives the name *lubam*, but in the Portuguese text the word *jāwī* (which follows it in Lord Stanley's translation of the Spanish text, p. 188) does not occur. Ramusio says "The Moors calls it *lubaniawi*." (Ed. 1563, l. p. 317). Barbosa's account shows that it was found in Siam as well as in Sumatra (see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Benjamin, Benzoin).

and Dabul cloths, and from Bengala they bring many *synbafos*,¹ which are a sort of very thin cotton cloth greatly prized among them and highly valued for turbans and shirts, for which they use them. And from the city of Adem they bring to Ormus abundance of copper, quicksilver, vermillion, rose-water, many brocaded cloths, tafetas² and ordinary camlets; also from the lands of the Xequé Ismael come a great quantity of silk, very fine musk and rhubarb of Babilonia.³ And from Barem and Julfar come seed

¹ *Synbasos* in the Portuguese text has been corrected to *sinbafos*. These are the fine muslins made from the earliest times at Dacca in Bengal. Here the Spanish version expands this passage as follows, but confounds the products of Cambaya, Chaul and Dabul with those of Bengala: "and many stuffs from Cambay, Chaul, Dabul and Bengala, which are called Sinabasos, Chautars, Mamonas, Dugasas, Soranatis." Ramusio has "Sinabassi, Cantares, Mamone, Dugnasas, Zaranoti."

Compare with this the list given by Barbosa under the Kingdom of Bengala, §102, where he speaks of the cotton fabrics under the names of estravantes, mamonas, duguazas, chautares, and sinabafas, for which the Spanish version reads, saravetes, mamuna, duguza, chantar, topan and sanabafos. Ramusio has saraneti, mamuna, duguza, cantares, topatii, and Sanabaffi.

It is evident that *sinabafa* is to be identified with the material known as *shānbāf*, which Badger has, no doubt properly, derived from *sina-basta* "China-woven" (*Hobson-Jobson*, Ed. Crooke, s.v. *Shanbaff*.) It is clear from Barbosa's description that that it was a very fine muslin, and not a coarse cloth like the *Shānbāf* of Vuller's Persian Dict. See the article "Piece goods" in *Hobson-Jobson*, Ed. Crooke, where some of these fabrics are mentioned. Chautares are given under Chowtar. Mamunas no doubt are to be referred to Mammoodies. Daguza, etc., is perhaps *Do-gazā*, i.e., two-yard pieces. The fabric variously described as soranatis, zaranoti, saravetis and saraneti evidently corresponds to that called estravantes in the Portuguese text, but I am unable to identify it.

Cf. the *zendadi* of gauzes mentioned by Pegolotti (*Cathay*, III, p. 155 n.).

² *Tafetas and Camlets*. Neither the Spanish version nor Ramusio mentions Aden in connection with these and the preceding articles. Ramusio reads "*Ciambelloti communi e di seta*," i.e., common and silken camlets, which corresponds in meaning with the tafetas and common camlets here given. But the Spanish version in the English translation has "coarse camlets, and silk," which loses the true meaning, tafeta being camlet mixed with silk.

³ *Rhubarb of Babilonia*. The Spanish version and Ramusio omit all mention of the lands of the Xequé Ismael as the origin of the musk and rhubarb, as well as of the silk, and substitute China and Cathay (Catay or Cataio). Rhubarb is undoubtedly a product of Persia as well as of China. The true Rhubarb (*Rheum palmatum*) grows in

pearls and large pearls, and from the cities of Arabia a great number of horses come, which they carry hence to India, whither every year they used to take one and at times two thousand horses, and each one of these is worth in India, taking good and bad together, three or four hundred cruzados,¹ more or less according to the demand for them. And in the ships in which these horses are taken they carry also abundance of dates, raisins, salt and sulphur, also coarse seed pearls in

China (*Marco Polo*, Yule and Cordier, I, p. 218; II, p. 183), but Barbosa distinctly specifies the Rhubarb of Babilonia, i.e., from Baghdād. This is the mountain product of the Persian plateau, including Afghanistan and Balochistan (*ruwāsh*). See Masson's *Travels*, II, p. 221. In Persia it is known as *riwās*, and is found among other places on the slopes of Mount Elburz. See Dr. Royle's account, quoted in Murray's *Plants and Drugs of Sind* (London and Bombay, 1881), p. 97. This is probably the product of *Rheum ribes* (Stewart, *Punjab Plants*, Lahore, 1869, p. 186). According to Stewart it is found from Mount Carmel to the Hindū-Kush Mountains. Ramusio's original and the Spanish translator probably having learnt that most of the rhubarb imported came from China considered that Barbosa's account was incorrect, and altered it accordingly.

García de Orta, in his forty-eighth Colloquy, tells what was known about rhubarb in his time, but says that he did not know much. He thought that all the rhubarb which came by way of Ormuz was of Chinese origin, coming overland by way of "the province of Uzbek." He adds, "Some say it grows in the same province at a city called Camarcander," i.e., Samarcand (Trans. 1913, p. 390). The account given by Ramusio (in his introduction to *The Travels of Marco Polo*) from the narrative of Hājjī Muhammad (*Cathay*, Vol. I, Note xviii, p. 290) gives a good account of the way rhubarb grew wild in the district of Suh-chan in the province of Kan-suh in N.W. China on the borders of the Great Desert, and was thence imported overland to Persia. It may be noted that he says the Chinese were accustomed to pound up the rhubarb for use in medicine, and this may account possibly for the difference noted by García de Orta (*l.c.*) between the powdered rhubarb which came from China by sea, and that obtained through Hurmuz, etc. He attributes the condition of the former to the roughness of the sea passage, but this would be nothing compared to that of a caravan journey across Asia. It is possible that the better condition of that which came through Persia was in reality due to its being a local product. Barbosa's use of the term "Rhubarb of Babilonia" shows that he also recognized a difference in quality.

Pigafetta gives another origin for Rhubarb: "After the kingdom of Siam comes that of Tamgoma and of Campaa, where the rhubarb grows; as to which there are diverse opinions, some saying that it is a root and some that it is a rotten tree, and that if it were not rotten it would not have such a strong smell, and they call it Calama" (Pigafetta, in *Ramusio*, Ed. 1563, Vol. I, p. 369).

¹ For prices of horses exported to India, see § 37, p. 65, n. 1.

which the Moors of Narsingua take great delight. These Moors of Ormus go well-clad in very white cotton shirts, very thin and long, and under these they wear cotton drawers.¹ They also wear many rich silk garments, and others of camlet and scarlet in-grain. They are girt about with *almejares*² (cummerbunds) in which they carry their daggers finely decorated with gold and silver according to the quality of the wearers. They also carry broad round bucklers covered with fine silk, and in their hands their Turkish bows painted in excellent colours (with silken bowstrings) which make very long shots. The bows are of varnished wood and of buffalo-horn.³ They are very good archers, and their arrows well-made and sharp pointed. Others carry small axes and iron maces of divers shapes, excellently wrought in fine damascened work.⁴

These men are rich, polished and gallant ; they give great care to their clothing and their food, which they have well-spiced, and everything in great plenty, *scilicet* flesh-meat, wheaten bread, very good rice, and

¹ The word used for drawers is *çiroes*, which in the Spanish version according to Lord Stanley is *sarahueles*, which he refers to the Persian *sarwāl* or *shalwār* (as it is pronounced in N.W. India). Ramusio translates it by *braghesse*.

The modern Spanish form is *zaraguelles*, which Dozy and Engelmann refer to *sarāwīl*, the Arabic plural of *sarwāl*. The modern Portuguese is *ceroulas*. Barbosa's plural *çiroes* implies a singular *çirōl*, which no doubt is taken from the Arabic singular form *sarwāl*.

² *Almejares* are undoubtedly the cummerbunds (*kamr-band*) of Modern India and Persia. The Spanish form is *Almaizares*, which Dozy and Engelmann's Glossary derives from the Arabic *al-mi'zar* "espece de toque ou voile." The word is not in use in modern Portuguese, and is not to be found in dictionaries. Ramusio wrongly translates it as "*mantelli alla Morisca*," adding (in a separate paragraph) "and in their girdles they carry daggers, etc."

³ Bows are still made of buffalo-horn finely painted and varnished in the frontier regions of India and Persia.

⁴ Damascened work, *tauxia*, from the Arabic *taushiya*. See Dozy and Engelmann, *s.v.* *atauxia*, the Spanish form, which is from the same word with the article, *at-taushiya*. Lord Stanley gives the form in the Spanish version as [Atuxsia, Moorish workmanship of inlaying metals.]

divers conserves and fresh fruits, apples, pomegranates, peaches, great plenty of apricots, figs, almonds, grapes, melons, also radishes and divers salads and everything else that there is in Spain ; dates of divers kinds, and fruits of other kinds not found in Spain.¹ They drink wine of the grape in secret as it is forbidden by their law. The water they drink is mixed with a little mastich, and set in a cool place, and they employ many methods of cooling and keeping it cold.

These noblemen and principal merchants take with them whithersoever they go, on roads, public places or streets, a page who carries by way of parade a keg of water, or a water bottle garnished with silver, which they have for parade and show, and for the needs of their luxurious way of living. These men are greatly hated by the women, for the more part of them take with them eunuch slave boys, with whom they sleep.

All these Moors of position have country houses on the mainland whither they go to divert themselves mostly in the summer.²

This city of Ormus, notwithstanding that it is exceeding rich and well furnished with victual of every kind, is yet very dear, for the reason that everything comes to it from outside ; *scilicet*, from Arabia and Persia and other parts whence all things come promptly ; and in the island itself there is nothing which they can obtain from it, save salt only.

¹ Spain here and elsewhere is used to denote the whole Iberian peninsula, without regard to political boundaries. Spain proper is always spoken of as Castella.

² [This description of Persian customs is very exact.—St.] The custom of living for the hottest part of the year in country houses on the Mināb River (Old Hurmuz) is still kept up by the merchants of Bandar 'Abbās (Floyer, *Unexplored Baluchistan*, p. 140). The Spanish version and Ramusio simply say "for some months of the year," without mentioning that it is for the hot season only, nor do they explain that these country houses were on the mainland.

Even the water comes from outside, from the main and from the neighbouring isles for their drinking in certain small boats which they call *teradas*,¹ as I have said before. And all the open places are constantly full of all this food and wood (which also they bring from outside) in great abundance, and everything is sold by weight at fixed rates, with very strict regulation; and any person who gives short weight or departs from the fixed rate and the orders given to him, is punished with great severity. Flesh they sell cooked, either boiled or roast, by weight, and other articles of diet in the same way, and all properly set out and clean, so much so that many persons do not have their food prepared in their houses, but eat the food of the bazaars (*praças*).

In this city of Ormus the king² abides ever in a cer-

¹ For these *terradas* (modern spelling) or shore-boats see the *Commentaries*, I, p. 105 (note).

² The so-called "Kingdom of Ormus" was in reality a petty principality which had attained practical independence, mainly owing to the fluctuations of power on the mainland. In Ibn Baṭūṭa's time the ruler bore the title of Sultān; his name was Kuṭbu'd-din Tahmtan, son of Turān Shāh (Ibn Baṭūṭa, II, p. 233). But when 'Abdu'r-Razzāk visited it he gives the ruler only the inferior title of Malik. At that period (1442) the Persian portion of the great empire of Tīmūr was still maintained intact under his son Shāhrukh, who himself had assumed the title of supreme Sultān on his coins (although 'Abdu'r-Razzāk still alludes to him by his Central Asian title of Khākān), and was not likely to tolerate the use of the title by the princes of Hormuz, whose subordinate position is shown by the fact that they did not strike coins, an omission which, in the East, is incompatible with sovereignty. The prince at this time was Fakhru'd-din Turān Shāh, and his grandson Saifu'd-din, a boy of twelve, was nominal ruler when Albuquerque first arrived at Hormuz in 1508.

He was in the power of Khwāja 'Attār the wazīr, whom Barbosa calls the Governor, with whom all the negotiations took place. At the time of the second expedition (1515) Khwāja 'Attār was dead, and had been succeeded by Rais Nūru'd-din, a Persian by birth. This man was under the influence of his nephew, Rais Hāmid, who had seized on the power, and was in communication with Isma'il Shāh, the founder of the new Safavī monarchy of Persia. (Cf. Turān Shāh's *Chronicle of the Kings of Hormuz*, as translated by Capt. Stevens, London, 1715, printed in App. A to *Travels of Pedro Teixeira*, H.S. 1902. Ed. W. F. Sinclair and D. Ferguson.)

Lord Stanley here quotes from Amador de los Rios, *Estudios sobre*

tain great palace which he has therein, hard by the sea, on a cape of the city, in which palace he always dwells and keeps his treasure. And this king keeps his governours and collectors of revenue at those places in Persia and Arabia and the isles which pertain to his seignory, as I have pointed out above. In the city itself he has another governour who rules it and maintains the law which is above all other rulers of the kingdom; he is over all.

The said governour keeps the king near by him in the said palace, within a fort belonging to them, wherein the king neither governs nor understands aught about his kingdom, save that he is well served and guarded, insomuch that if the king wishes to enquire into the affairs of governance or treasury, or wishes to be at liberty, they take him and destroy his eyes and place him in a house with his wife, and sons, if he has any; and there they keep him in great tribulation, giving him food only, and they take another younger boy of the royal lineage, *scilicet*, a son, brother or nephew, next-of-kin, and set him in the fort and the palaces, and hold him to be their king, only that they may, in his name, order and govern the kingdom very peacefully. And as to the residue of the heirs, as they grow up and arrive at an age to rule, if it seems to the Governour that anyone of them wishes to interfere in the kingdom, they take him and destroy his sight,

los Judios de Espana, a passage from "The Jewish traveller, Pedro Teixeira," regarding this practice of blinding the relatives of the kings of Hurmuz. The passage alluded to is not, however, from Teixeira's own narrative, but from the *Chronicle of the Kings of Hurmuz*, by Tūrān Shāh, the last titular "king" (Teixeira, p. 106). It is as follows: "The method was this: they took a brass basin, as hot as fire could make it, and passed it several times before the victim's eyes. And so, without any other injury, the sight was destroyed by the effect of the fire on the optic nerves, the eyes remaining as clear and bright as before." The practice was widely spread, and is alluded to by many other authorities.

and place him in the same house ; so that they have perpetually a house containing ten or twelve blind kings, and he who reigns never lives free from fear that he may come to the same condition ; and as long as he reigns he is ever watched and served by armed men, and horsemen, to whom he gives very good pay ; they always come to court with their arms, and some he sends out to be wardens of his marches on the main land, when he finds it needful.

In this city, gold and silver money is coined,¹ *scilicet*,

¹ Barbosa was certainly mistaken in asserting that Hurmuz had its own coinage. As has been stated in the last note, its rulers did not enjoy this privilege, and no such coinage is known to numismatists. Nevertheless, there was an old tradition, mentioned in Turān Shāh's Chronicle (*Travels of P. Teixeira*, H.S., pp. 155, 158) that the original founder of the Hurmuz State was known as Dram-kū (i.e., *Dirham-kūb* or coin-striker), from his having been the first to strike coins, and this may have reached Barbosa's ears. The question arises of what the coins circulating there actually were. The gold coin called *xerafim*, that is, *ashrafi*, was in later times identical with the Indian gold mohar, which is still spoken of by that name, and gold coins of this type (weighing about 170 grains) were in the early part of the sixteenth century struck in Gujarāt, in the Bahmanī kingdom of the Deccan, in Mālwa and in Bengal. Such coins might have been brought from Cambay, Chaul and Dābhol to Hurmuz in the course of trade. But the *xerafim* of 300 reis cannot be identified with such a heavy or valuable coin, and according to the calculation given above (§ 37, p. 65, n. 1), it could not be worth more than about seven shillings. No gold coins were struck by Tīmūr and his successors in Persia, but his predecessors, the Persian Mongols, struck dinārs and half dinārs in gold, of which the half-dinārs weighed about 68 grains. They had mints at Baghdād, Basra, Shirāz and Kermān, from which Hurmuz might have drawn its supplies. These are probably the *ashrafis* alluded to.

Silver and copper were coined at Lār on the Persian mainland, not far from Hurmuz, under the Muzaffaris and afterwards under the Tīmūri kings. The bean-shaped coins alluded to by Barbosa were afterwards known to Europeans as *Larins* or *Lāris*, from Lār, their place of origin. A drawing of the whole and half *larin* in the seventeenth century is given by Tavernier (Nos. 1 and 2 of the Plate facing p. 2 in the English edition of 1678). He says : " The Larins are one of the ancient coins of *Asia*, and although at this day they are only current in *Arabia* and at *Balsora*, nevertheless, from *Bragdatt* to the island of *Ceylon*, they traffic altogether with the *Larin*, and all along the *Persian Gulf* ; where they take eighty Larins for one *Toman*, which is fifty *Abassis*."

He estimates five larins to be worth one French écu, less eight sous ; and as the écu of Louis XIV contained sixty sous, each larin was worth ten and two-fifth sous ; the sou was at that period about the equivalent of an English penny, so the larin, according to Tavernier, was worth about 10d. The quotations from Mr. William Barret (1684) given in

one coin of very good gold, round like ours, with Moorish letters on both sides, which are called *xerafins*, and are worth three hundred *reis*, more or less. The most part of them are coined in halves, each worth a hundred and fifty *reis*. In silver there is a long coin like a bean, also with Moorish letters on both sides, which is worth three *vintens*, more or less, which they call *tangas*, and this silver is very fine. All this money, silver as well as gold, is in such plenty that "as many ships as come to the city with goods, after they have

Da Cunha's *Indo-Portuguese Numismatics* (pp. 66, 67) also give estimates as to the value of the *larin*.

Fryer also (II, p. 138) says that " $2\frac{1}{2}$ shāhis is one lāri or 10d." It is evident from these valuations that its value had considerably declined since Barbosa's time. He values it at three *vintens*, and one *vintem* was twenty *reis*. The *larin* was worth therefore one-sixth of the *ashrafi*, and one-seventh of the gold *cruzado* (worth about ten shillings, see § 37, p. 65, n. 1. It may have therefore been worth in his time about 1s. 5d.

A full description and history of the *lāri* is given by Dr. G. Da Cunha in his work on *Indo-Portuguese Numismatics*, pp. 37-45.

See also the full discussion by Mr. J. Allan, of the British Museum, in his article on "The Coinage of the Maldivé Islands," *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1912, pp. 319-324.

It is evident that this peculiar currency of thin silver bars was of great antiquity, and was, as time went on, struck in many places, as in Ceylon and in the 'Adil-Shāhi kingdom of Bijāpur (Da Cunha, *l.c.*, p. 42). It is therefore quite possible, and not improbable, that it was struck by the merchants of Hurmuz, as a trade currency, although I believe there is no trace of any mark or inscription which can be recognized as belonging to that town.

The name *tanga* is a general name at this period for silver coinage with varying values. On one of those of the 'Adilshāhis is the legend, "Zarb lāri dāngah sikka," as to which Dr. Da Cunha observes, "here the word *dāngah* is evidently *tanga*." It is clear, therefore, that in calling the *larins tangas* Barbosa was following a usual practice.

Dr. Da Cunha considered that the mention of *lāris* by Felner in 1525 (*Lembrança das Cousas de Índia*, 1525, p. 28, printed in *Subsidios*, Lisbon, 1878) was the earliest record of their existence, but Barbosa's is evidently earlier. It has escaped notice up till now, owing to the omission of this passage both by Ramusio and in the Spanish version. These give no mention of the unusual shape of the *lārin*, and say that it resembles a Calicut fanam, which is nonsense. They both value it at fifty-five "maravedis."

On the roundness of the coins Lord Stanley has the following note: [This observation is owing to the Moorish coins of the Almohade dynasty having been square, which gave rise to the Spanish saying of spendthrifts, "My money rolls, as it is not Moorish."—St.]

Square coins were in use in Barbosa's time in the currency of the kingdom of Mālwa, which must have been known to him.

sold their goods and bought the horses and *sinais*¹ which they are to take away with them, what balance soever remains over to them " they take in this coin, as it circulates much in India and has a good value there.

To this city of Ormus² came a fleet of the King our Lord of which the Captain-in-Chief was Afonso D'Albuquerque: he desired to have peace with them in all things, but they would not, seeing which Afonso D'Albuquerque began to make war on this kingdom, more especially on the seaports, where he caused them great loss. Proceeding thus he came with the whole fleet to take the city of Ormus itself, in the harbour whereof he fought a mighty battle with a fleet of very great ships full of brave men and well-armed. This fleet the said Afonso D'Albuquerque defeated, and took and sank many ships, also taking and burning many others which were at anchor hard by the walls of the city: the King and the Governour beholding such destruction of their people and ships, and having no power to prevail against him, sued for peace, which the Captain-in-Chief accepted on the condition that they should allow him to build a fortress on one point of the city, to which they agreed. But when the building of the fort began, the Moors repented, and were not willing that it should be carried further. Seeing this the Captain-in-Chief again began to do them so much harm, and to slay so many of their people, that he made them tributaries of the King our Lord, at

¹ *Sinaiis*. It is not clear what meaning this word is intended to bear here. Literally it means signs, tokens or marks.

² Here Barbosa begins his account of the first expedition of Albuquerque against Hurmuz in 1508, which is related in full in the *Commentaries*, Vol. I, Ch. xxviii to lii, and also by De Barros, *Dec. I*. Barbosa does not seem to have been present on this occasion, and passes over the fact that Albuquerque had to abandon the work of building a fortress and leave the island altogether owing to the insubordination and treachery of some of his captains, especially João da Nova.

fifteen thousand gold *xerafins* yearly, and this they always pay. ¹A few years later the king and Governours of Ormus sent an ambassador with a great train to the King our Lord, and with the reply which His Highness sent them Afonso D'Albuquerque came again with a very fine fleet to Ormus, where they received him in all peace, and agreed that he should finish the fortress which he had begun before. He then ordered that it should be undertaken and made very large and strong, as if it had been just now begun. At this time the king, who is a youth of no great age, seeing himself so oppressed by the dominion of the Governour that he dared not do anything of himself, found a way of letting the Captain-in-Chief know secretly how little liberty he had, and how the Governour kept him almost a prisoner, taking by force the Governance of the Kingdom and delivering it over to the others who held it, and also how it seemed to him that letters had been sent to the Xequé Ismael, offering to betray the kingdom to him. The Capain-in-Chief, when he knew this, kept it quite secret, and arranged to see the king, agreeing with him that the interview should take place in a certain large house

¹ From this point the text takes up the history of Albuquerque's second expedition against Hurmuz in 1515, which ended in its complete subjugation. From the minuteness of this account, and the fact that Barbosa was present shortly afterwards at the taking of Zaila it seems probable that he accompanied Albuquerque's fleet from Goa, and was at Hurmuz throughout the operations.

Saifu'd-din, the so-called King of Hurmuz, "a youth of no great age," was twelve years old according to De Barros in 1508, and was therefore about nineteen in 1515. The Wazir or "Governador" was Nûru'd-din, and his relation Rais Hâmid exercised the power, and seems to have been working against the Portuguese and in favour of Persia. Barbosa's statement that the young king asked Albuquerque to free him from his subjection is by no means improbable, and should be taken into consideration in estimating the degree of culpability of Albuquerque in the slaying of Rais Hâmid. This account agrees in most details with that given in the *Commentaries* (IV, Ch. xxv and xxvi).

close to the sea. The appointed day having arrived the Captain-in-Chief entered this house with ten or twelve captains, leaving his people drawn up without, and everything as it should be. The King and the Governour came with a great band of followers, and when the King had entered the house, and no other person had entered, the gates were at once shut; and as they went in the Captain-in-Chief ordered that the Governour should be slain with dagger-strokes. Seeing this the young king began to be angry, but Afonso D'Albuquerque told him not to fear, for what he had done was only to make him a King like the other Moorish Kings and that he should no longer live in subjection: Those outside hearing the noise began to make a tumult, and certain brethren of the Governour, and others his followers and relatives, who made up a great throng, were all armed. The Captain-in-Chief then perforce took the King by the hand, and they came out on a house-top, both armed, that the King might speak to them and endeavour to appease them: yet this he could not accomplish unless their brother and lord was given up to them. Saying this they began to make their way into the King's palace and fortress, saying that they would make another king; seeing which the Captain-in-Chief endeavoured to prevail over them [by words only], and thus they continued a great part of the day. The King then sought to throw them out by force from the said fortress and they would not go out from it, At last perceiving that the Captain-in-Chief was still determined to give them *Santiago*,¹ they agreed to give him the fortress on the

¹ "To give them Santiago," i.e., to fall upon them with the war-cry of "São Thiago," or "Santiago," evidently an idiom in use at the time. It is not found in the Spanish version, nor in Ramusio. Cf. De Barros, *Dec. I*, viii. Ch. 10, f. 169, ed. 1628, "This wound caused

condition that they should forthwith leave the city and island with their wives, children and estates, and that all persons who were relatives or brethren of the dead Governour should be banished. This was carried out forthwith, and the Captain-in-Chief then at once took the King to his palace and fortress with great pomp and triumph, accompanied by a multitude of our people and his own, and delivered him over to another Governour,¹ who had held that post before, with his palace and fortress and city in all freedom, charging the Governour to serve him with all honour, and to permit him to govern his kingdom according to his own pleasure, giving him only his advice, as is done with other Moorish kings. In this wise did the Captain-in-Chief restore him his liberty. And as Captain of our fortress he appointed one Pero D'Albuquerque with many Portuguese and ships to support the King, who did nothing without the advice of the said Captain of the fortress, being obedient to the King our Lord with all his kingdom and seignory.

The Captain-in-Chief then, perceiving that all was thus in submission, and under his orders, at once commanded by public proclamation that all the sodomites should be degraded and expelled from the city and island with an arrow run through the nostrils of each of them (cf. Correa II, 441), and they were degraded, with the condition that if they ever returned they should be burnt. The King showed himself pleased with this.²

the Captain-in-chief more rage than pain, so that he went forward, giving Santiago where he saw most people assembled."

¹ This was the Wazir Rais Nūru'd-din, whose authority had been usurped by Rais Hāmid (*Commentaries*, IV, p. 163).

² The steps taken, by Albuquerque in this matter are also mentioned in the *Commentaries* (IV, p. 169).

He also sent to take the blind kings¹ who were in that city, of whom there were thirteen or fourteen, and embarked them on a great ship and had them conveyed to India, and bestowed in the city of Goa, where he ordered that they should be fed at his expense, so that they might finish their days there and cause no disorder in the kingdom, and that they should be permitted to all there in peace and quietness.

§ 46. KINGDOM OF DIUL.

FURTHER ON, after leaving Ormuz and its lands, we enter at once into the kingdom of Diul,² which lies

¹ As to the despatch of these blinded scions of the ruling house to Goa, see De Barros, *Dec. II*, Book x, Ch. 8, and the *Commentaries*, IV, p. 179, where their number is given as fifteen.

² The port here called Diul is Dēval in Sindh (from the Sanskrit *Dēvāla* "Abode of the Gods.") From the Sindhi form arose the Arabic *Daybul*, the name by which the port was known to the Arab chroniclers. In the Hindi language the *v* of Dēval is replaced by *w*, and it is from the form Dēwal that the Portuguese got their Diul. The name Diul-sindī seems to have been adopted by the Portuguese at a later date. It was employed in the Spanish version of Barboza (*Diulcinde*, Stanley, p. 49), and appears also in Ribero's map (1529). The name Diulcinde is used for the port and Ulcinde for the country. Ramusio also uses the form Ulcinde, afterwards employed by Camões. Dorado's map (1570), however, only gives *Barra de Sinde*, "Bar of the Sind." Thevenot (*Travels*, 1687, Pt. III, p. 53) says "the most southern town of Sind is Diul, still called Diul-Sind, and was heretofore called Dobil."

The name referred undoubtedly to the joint port of Deval and Sindi, the former being on the western and the latter on the eastern side of the mouth of the western branch of the Indus Delta. Sindi was visited by Manucci on his way to India in an English ship in 1655 (see Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, I, p. 59). Yule and Irvine identify it with Lahribandar, but this port was at the eastern extremity of the Indus Delta.

The advance of the coast, owing to the silt deposits of the Indus, left Dēwal far inland. Its ruins still exist about twenty miles S.W. of Thatta. Rennell in his map (1782) still shows "Daibul" on a western branch of the Indus.

The name of Diulsindi was no doubt known to Camões, as he speaks (*Lusiads*, X, p. 106) of the "terra de Ulcinde," mistaking the first syllable for the preposition "de." Paynton's journal (1612) calls the port

between the land of Arabia and Persia¹; the which is a separate kingdom, and over it a Moorish king holds rule, and the greater part of the folk are Moors with some Heathens who are wholly subject to them.²

Diulsinde, but Linschoten (p. 55) merely says that the port at the mouth of the Sinde had the name of the river, *i.e.*, that it was called Sindi.

On returning from Aden to India in 1513 Alboquerque's fleet from Cape Guardafui "tacked over to the other side, and bore up opposite Diolocinde," and thence followed the coast to Diu. The account was no doubt written many years after that date (*Commentaries*, IV, p. 59).

For the history of the changes in the coast-line of the Delta see Gen. M. R. Haig's *The Indus Delta Country*, London, 1894.

¹ Duarte Barbosa probably never visited Dewal, but sailed direct from Hurmuz to Cambay, as appears from his not mentioning Jāsk and Gwādar on the Mekrān coast. Had he visited it he could hardly have stated that it lay between Arabia and Persia, or that it formed part of the dominions of Xequé Ismael, *viz.*, Isma'īl Shāh the founder of the Safavi dynasty of Persia. Possibly however Sindh was supposed to extend over the coast of Mekrān, where Isma'īl Shāh had established his power at Gwādar. The allusion to feeding horses on fish was applicable to Mekrān. Southern Sindh was at that period under the Sammā Jāmis, whose nominal Suzerain was the Lodi Sultān of Delhi. Northern Sindh was under the Arghūns, a Turkish family.

² Sind was the earliest Indian conquest of the Arabs in India, and the population has been pre-dominantly Muhammadan ever since that conquest. Even before that period it had been well known to Persians and Arabs, and tradition recorded its surrender by an Indian king to Bahrām Gor the Sassanian monarch, who reigned from 420 to 440 A.D. (see Sykes, *Hist. of Persia*, I, p. 470, and Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 32). Daybul was undoubtedly frequented by Arab merchants before Islām arose, and was one of the earliest points which the first Khalifas aimed at. Before the actual conquest, as early as the year 15 of the hijra (636 A.D.), we are told by Al-Bilādhuri that 'Omar sent Mughaira to the bay of Daybul, and under Mu'āwiya's reign 'Obeydullāh was sent against it by Hajjāj. Muḥammad bin Kāsim took Daybul in the year 93 (A.D. 711).

The Arab historians all insist on the importance of Daybul as the centre of trade between Hurmuz and Kambāyat (Cambay). They describe it as situated on the coast, a few miles west of the mouth of the Mihrān or Indus, and it is so shown in Ibn Haukal's map (*circa* 976 A.D.), which is reproduced in Elliot and Dowson's *Hist. of India*, I, p. 32, and in Raverty's "The Mihrān of Sind," *J.A.S.B.*, 1892, pp. 222, 317. Most later maps show it in the same position, although Purchas's map (1615) shows it on the east side of the estuary, probably through confusion with Sindi (see also, p. 105, n. 2). Raverty's identification of Dēwal with Sindi (*l.c.*, p. 326) in quoting Perry's mention of the latter (*A Voyage to East India*, 1665) therefore seems incorrect.

The principal Arab historians and geographers who mention Daybul are Mas'ūdī and Istakhri, Ibn Haukal, Mukaddasi and Idrisi, whose writings cover the period from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. Full information regarding them is given by Le Strange, *Lands of the*

This king is a very great lord over many lands and peoples in the interior and of many horses, but he has very few seaports. This land is bounded on one side by the great kingdom of Cambaya and on the other by the land of Persia, and the king thereof is subject to the Xequé Ismael. The people are Moors both tawny and fair, they have their own tongue, but speak also both Persian and Arabic. In this land is great store of wheat, barley and flesh; the country is flat, with open plains and very little wood. They navigate but little, yet they have long strands where they carry on fine fisheries and take fish of great size, which they dry that they may be consumed up-country, and also that they may be conveyed to many other lands. Here they feed the horses on dried fish. Some ships which come hither from India bring abundance of rice and sugar, and some bring spices, timber and planks; and certain canes which are found in India and are of the thickness of a man's leg; by all of which trade much money is gained. In return they take back great store of cotton, horses and cloth. Through this kingdom a great river comes forth to the sea, which passes through the midst of Persia, regarding which the Moors say [yet they do not know it certainly] that it proceeds from the river Euphrates¹ and along this river are many very wealthy Moorish towns. This land is luxuriant, fertile, and full of victuals.

Eastern Caliphate, 331 sq., and by Marquart, *Erānshahr*, pp. 45, 188-194, 258, and numerous quotations in *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Diul-Sind.

¹ The idea that the Indus flowed from one of the well-known rivers of Western Asia was common until the geography of that region was better known. Mas'ūdi, writing in the early part of the tenth century, mentions, only to refute it, the notions of El-Jāhiz that the Indus flowed from the Nile. He himself gives a very correct account of its course and its tributaries (*El-Mas'ūdi*, Ed. Barbier de Meynard, Vol. I, p. 206). Cf. § 44, p. 89, n. 1.

§ 47. THE KINGDOM OF GUZERATE.¹

THUS, going forward, leaving behind the kingdom of Diul and entering the First India² we come to the kingdom of Guzerate, whereof it seems King Darius once was king, for the Indians have yet many tales of him and of Alexander the Great.³

This kingdom of Guzerate is very great and possesses many towns and cities both along the coast and inland, and many seaports with much sea-trade, wherein dwell great merchants both Moors and Heathen, who trade here in great abundance of goods. In ancient days⁴

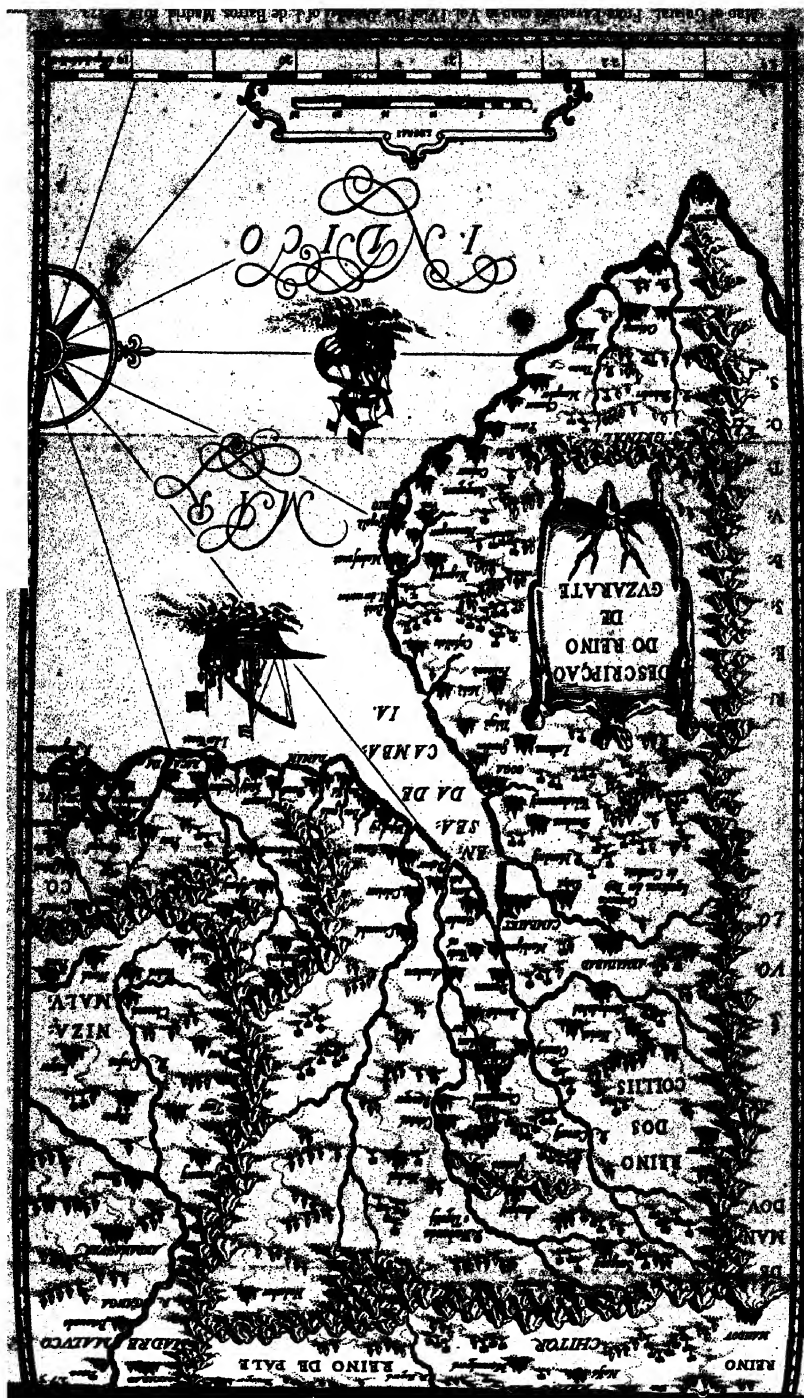
¹ *The Kingdom of Guzerate.* Barbosa now proceeds to deal in succession with the great countries and governments on the Western coast of India, beginning with Gujarāt. In this section he describes the country and people, and in the succeeding section, § 48, he goes on to give some account of the Muhammadan kingdom which, when he wrote, was in possession of the country. This he calls the King of Guzerate's Kingdom of Cambaya, taking its name from its principal seaport Kambāyat, now better known as Cambay. The Portuguese borrowed the practice of calling Gujarāt by the name of its principal town from the Arabs. For instance, the historian Wassāf, writing in A.H. 699 (A.D. 1300), speaks of "Gujarāt, commonly called Kambāyat."

He then in the succeeding sections deals with the principal towns of the kingdom, viz., Champānēl or Champānēr (§ 49), Andava or Ahmadābād (§ 50), Patenexy, a "Pattan," or port probably identical with that of Somnāth (§ 51), Curiate, Mangalor, i.e., Sōrāth and Mangalor (§ 52), Dio, or Diu (§ 53), Guogarim or Gōghā (§ 54), Barbasy, possibly Bharoch (§ 55), Guindarim or Ghandhār (§ 56), the city of Cambaya (§ 57), Limadūra, or Limodra (§ 58), Reynel or Randēr (§ 59), Curate (Sūrat) (§ 60), Dinvy (Dānu, near Dāmān) (§ 61), Basay (Bassein) (§ 62), and Tana-Majambu (Thāna and Bombay harbour) (§ 63). In § 64 he concludes his description of Gujarāt with an account of its trade.

² The first India here seems to refer to the West or Malabar Coast.

³ The tales of Darius and Alexander were not indigenous to India and had no connection with Gujarāt. They were no doubt taken from Persian romantic stories of Alexander, such as are found in Firdūsī's Shāh-Nāma and the Sikandar-Nāma. The "two-horned" Alexander *Dhū'l-karnain* is still a well-known figure in Muhammadan legend. The head on his coins (as Zeus Ammon) perhaps gave rise to the epithet, and to his identification with the *Dhū'l karnain* of the Korān.

⁴ The name Gujarāt is derived from the Sanskrit form *Gurjara-fāshtra*, "the kingdom of the Gurjaras," a territory of much greater extent than the Gujarāt of later days. The Gurjaras, an invading race from the north (who seem to have been associated with the Ephthalites or White Huns), held an extensive kingdom from the seventh to the



this kingdom pertained to the Heathen, and the Moors took it from them in war,¹ so that the king thereof is at this present time a Moor; yet are there still many great heathen merchants there, who traffic with their own folk. And before this kingdom of Guzerate fell into the hands of the Moors, a certain

tenth centuries. Its capital was at first at Bhilmal (Bālmir in modern maps) which lies in the deserts north of modern Gujarāt in the state of Mārwar (see V. Smith, "The Gurjaras of Rājputāna," *J.R.A.S.*, 1909). The southern portion of this kingdom and the country around the Gulf of Cambay alone retained the name of Gujarāt in later days. Another branch of the Gurjara tribe, now known as Gūjars, also gave the name of Gujarāt to a town on the R. Chanāb in the Panjāb (celebrated for Gough's victory in 1849).

At the time of the first Musalmān invasions of India the Rājput kingdom of Anhilwāra or Nahrwāla occupied a considerable part of Gujarāt, and (if Mahmūd Ghaznawī's raid on the shrine of Sōmnāth on the coast of Kāthiāwār is put aside, as it had no permanent effect) the first conquest for Islam was that carried out by 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī, Sultān of Delhi, who took possession of Kambāyat and plundered the shrine of Sōmnāth in 698 A.H. (1299 A.D.). His son, Kuṭbu'd-dīn, again attacked Nahrwāla and all Gujarāt in 1317 A.D. Thenceforward this territory formed part of the Dehli Sultānat till the decline of the Tughlak dynasty, when a Governor named Zafar Khān rebelled and founded the kingdom of Gujarāt in 1396 A.D. This kingdom lasted until its subjugation by Akbar in 1573 A.D. The founder took the name of Muzaffar Shāh, and a perpetual war was carried on against the Rājput Chiefs of Kāthiāwār by his successors Ahmad Shāh and Mahmūd Shāh Baigara. Ahmadabad, the capital, founded by Ahmad Shāh I, became an important centre of government, and under the Mughals, was a well-known mint town. After the break-up of the Mughal Empire in the eighteenth century, the Marāthas became the principal power in Gūjarat, and ultimately the Gaikwār (Guicowar) family founded a state with its capital at Baroda, which still exists under British suzerainty. Ahmadabad is the head-quarters of a British District which comprises the greater part of the coast of the Gulf of Cambay, while the Kāthiāwār peninsula, extending from the Gulf of Cambay to the Rann of Kachh, is still to a great extent in the hands of Rājput Chiefs, who have survived all vicissitudes, and now thrive under the protection of the British Government. Under Mahmūd Shāh I the Gujarāt kingdom was a powerful and aggressive power, allied with the Turkish and Egyptian Sultāns, and inclined to suppress by every means in its power the Portuguese incursion into the Musalmān monopoly of Eastern trade.

¹ Here both the Spanish version and Ramusio add that the Hindu population was very much oppressed by the Muhammadans, "*usan contra di loro inhumanita e discortesie grandi*," *Ram.* There is nothing corresponding to this in the Portuguese text, which simply states sarcastically that these Hindus were greatly valued on account of the profit that could be made out of them (*infra*, p. 112, n. 1).

race of Heathen whom the Moors call *Resbutos*¹ dwell therein, who in those days were the knights and wardens of the land, and made war wheresoever it was needful. These men kill and eat sheep and fish and all other kinds of food : in the mountains there are yet many of them, where they have great villages and obey not the king of Guzerate, but rather wage daily war against him ; who, do what he may, is yet not able to prevail against them, nor will do so, for they are very fine horsemen, and good archers, and have besides divers other weapons to defend themselves withal against the Moors, on whom they make war without ceasing ; yet, have they no king nor lord over them.

And in this kingdom there is another sort of Heathen whom they call *Baneanes*,² who are great merchants

¹ *Resbutos* or Rājputs—Rebuti in Ramusio and Razbutes in the Spanish version. Numerous Rājput principalities were never absorbed by the Gujarāt kingdom, and many still exist, especially in Kāthiāwār.

The corruption of the name Rājput is not so pronounced as in the English *Rashboots* of the eighteenth century. Correa, however, carries the corruption further, and calls them the *Reys Butos* or "Buto kings."

With the Rājputs Barbosa begins his account of the Hindu population, whom he, like other Portuguese writers, consistently calls *Gentio*, i.e., Gentile or Heathen, as distinct from the Moors or Muhammadans. He divides the Hindus into three main sections, *Resbutos*, *Baneanes*, and *Bramanes*, that is Rājputs, Banyāns and Brāhmins, a very accurate statement of the broader features of their organization.

The statement that the Rājputs have "no king or lord over them" must be taken as meaning that they had no central organized government. They were in fact under a number of petty chiefs.

² The second division of the Hindu population is wrongly given in the Portuguese text as *Bramenes*, which undoubtedly stands for *Baneanes*, owing to a copyist's error. The mention of the true *Bramenes* or *Brahmins* as the third division shows this to be the case. The description is moreover that of the trading classes to which the Banyāns of the Bombay presidency belong, as does the same caste known in Northern India as *Baniā* or "Bunniah." Among these Banyāns the Jain creed is very prevalent, and its followers have greater objection than that displayed by orthodox Hindus to the taking of life of any kind. Barbosa's description evidently refers especially to the Jains. The passages regarding their carefulness as regards the life of flies and vermin can refer only to Jains, who abound more in Gujarāt than elsewhere. The "pinjrapoles" or hospitals for animals kept up

and traders. They dwell among the Moors with whom they carry on all their trade. This people eats neither flesh nor fish, nor anything subject to death; they slay nothing, nor are they willing even to see the slaughter of any animal; and thus they maintain their idolatry and hold it so firmly that it is a terrible thing. For often it is so that the Moors take to them live insects or small birds, and make as though to kill them in their presence, and the *Baneanes* buy these and ransom them, paying much more than they are worth, so that they may save their lives and let them go. And if the King or a Governour of the land has any man condemned to death, for any crime which he has committed, they gather themselves together and buy him from justice, if they are willing to sell him, that he may not die. And divers Moorish mendicants as well, when they wish to obtain alms from this people, take great stones wherewith they beat upon their shoulders and bellies as though they would slay themselves before them, to hinder which they give them great alms that they may depart in peace. Others carry knives with which they slash their arms and legs, and to these too they give large alms that they may not kill themselves.¹ Others go to their doors seeking to kill rats and snakes for them, and to them

by them have been alluded to by many travellers. For a good description of these practices among Jains, see Russell, *Castles and Tribes of the Central Provinces*, I, p. 224.

¹ The extortion of money from pious Hindus by such means as Barbosa here describes is by no means extinct in the present day. I was once appealed to by the traders of the town of Mithankōt on the Indus to protect them against an impudent scoundrel who went about pretending to stab himself in the throat with a dagger, the blade of which was so constructed as to slide back into the hilt at the least pressure. Although they knew of the deception yet they feared to refuse gifts unless they were supported by the representative of Government.

also they give much money that they may not do so. Thus they are much esteemed by the Moors!¹

When these *Baneanes* meet with a swarm of ants on the road they shrink back and seek for some way to pass without crushing them. And in their houses they sup by daylight, for neither by night nor by day will they light a lamp, by reason of certain little flies² which perish in the flame thereof; and if there is any great need of a light by night they have a lantern of varnished paper or cloth, so that no living thing may find its way in, and die in the flame. And if these men breed many lice they kill them not, but when they trouble them too much they send for certain men, also Heathen, who live among them and whom they hold to be men of a holy life; they are like hermits living with great abstinence through devotion to their gods. These men louse them, and as many lice as they catch they place on their own heads and breed them on their own flesh, by which they say they do great service to their Idol. Thus one and all they maintain with great self-restraint their law of not killing. On the other hand they are great usurers, falsifiers of weights and measures and many other goods and of coins, and great liars. These Heathen are tawny men, tall and well-looking, gaily attired, delicate and moderate in their food. Their diet is of milk, butter, sugar and rice, and many conserves of divers sorts. They make

¹ The sarcastic phrase "they are much esteemed (*apreciados*) by the Moors" i.e., for what they could extort from them, is turned by the Spanish version and Ramusio into "they are very ill-treated by the Moors."

² *Little flies*. The word in the text is "mosquitos." The restricted use of the word to denote the species of gnat we now know by the name is of later date. Even at the end of the eighteenth century, Vieyra speaks of it as an American use of the word. It here refers to small flies of every kind, which in India are attracted by a flame in enormous numbers.

much use of dishes of fruit and vegetables and pot-herbs in their food. Wheresoever they dwell they have orchards and fruit-gardens and many water-tanks wherein they bathe twice a day, both men and women ; and they say when they have finished bathing that they are clear of as many sins as they have committed up to that hour. These *Baneanes* grow very long hair, as women do with us, and wear it twisted up on the head and made into a knot, and over it a turban, that they may keep it always held together ; and in their hair they put flowers and other sweet-scented things.

They use to anoint themselves with white sandal-wood mixed with saffron and other scents. They are a very amorous people. They are clad in long cotton and silken shirts and are shod with pointed shoes of richly wrought cordwain ; some of them wear short coats of silk and brocade. They carry no arms except certain very small knives ornamented with gold and silver, and this for two reasons : First, because they are men who make but little use of weapons ; and secondly, because the Moors defend them.¹ They are much given to golden earrings set with many precious stones, rings on their fingers, and golden girdles over their clothes.

The women of these Heathen are beautiful and slender, with well-shaped figures ; they are both fair and dark. Their dress is as long as that of their husbands, they wear silken bodices with tight sleeves, cut low at the

¹ The unwarlike nature of the Banyas is a subject of jest to the men of more manly castes in many parts of India. On their journeys they often hire Rājputs or Muhammadans to defend them.

One of the jests current in the Punjab is to the effect that a young Banya and his father were robbed by a thief who stopped them on the road. When asked why two men allowed themselves to be robbed by one, the young Banya said, "The thief and his stick, there were two of them, while daddy and I were all alone !"

back,¹ and other long garments called *chandes*² which they throw over themselves like cloaks when they go out. On their heads they wear nought but their own hair well-dressed on the top of it. They always go barefoot, and on their legs they wear very thick anklets of gold and silver with great plenty of rings on their fingers and toes, and they have holes bored in their ears wide enough for an egg to pass through,³ in which they wear thick gold and silver earrings. These women are kept much at home and shut up. They seldom leave their houses, and when they go forth they are wrapt up in long garments covering their heads, "much as the women with us cover themselves with their mantles."⁴

Bramenes. And there is here another class of Heathen whom they call *Bramenes*, who are priests

¹ *Bodices cut low at the back.* This seems to be the correct meaning of the phrase, "sainhos abertos pelas espadoas." *Espadoa* is properly the shoulder-blade, not the shoulders, and is employed for "the back." The Spanish phrase "a espaldas" also means "at the back," and the translation, "open at the shoulders," used in Lord Stanley's translation cannot be adopted. Ramusio's phrase, "aperte alle spalle," also means "at the back." Barbosa's description applies correctly to the "choli" or tight-fitting low bodice worn by Hindū women, which is certainly not "open at the shoulders."

² *Chandes.* This is the *chādar* universally worn by women and thrown over the head. The Spanish version, followed as usual by Ramusio, omits this vernacular term, and inserts "after the manner of Morisco almalafas," which is not correct as a representation of the Indian *chādar*. The "*almalafa*" (Ar. *al-milhafa*) is a veil intended to hide the face, which the *chādar* is not. Ramusio uses another Spanish-Arabic word, *Almayzar* (Ar. *al-mi'zar*) of similar meaning: (for both words, see Dozy's *Glossaire de mots Esp. et Port. dérivés de l'Arabe*).

³ The phrase in the Portuguese means that the aperture in the ear is greatly distended, as is often the case, so as to be wide enough for an egg to pass through it. The Spanish version and Ramusio's have altered this so as to make the *earrings* large enough for an egg to pass through.

⁴ The ancient Portuguese cloak with hood covering the face (*capote* or *capello*) is still worn in the Azores. This comparison with a Portuguese custom is characteristically omitted by the Spanish version, followed by Ramusio.

among them and persons who manage and rule their houses of prayer and idol-worship, which are of great size and have great revenues : and many of them also are maintained by alms. In these houses are great numbers of wooden idols, and others of stone and copper, and in these houses or monasteries they celebrate great ceremonies in honour of these idols, entertaining them with great store of candles and oil-lamps, and with bells after our fashion. These *Bramenes* and Heathen have in their creed many resemblances to the Holy Trinity, and hold in great honour the relation of the Triune Three,¹ and always make their prayers to God, whom they confess and adore as the true God, Creator and maker of all things, who is three persons and one God, and they say that there are many other gods who are rulers under him, in whom also they believe. - These *Bramenes* and

¹ The Portuguese had, by the time Barbosa wrote, discovered that their earlier belief that the Hindus were Christians of a sort, was erroneous, but he evidently was still led, by certain superficial resemblances, to suspect an actual connection which had no real basis. The principal of these was the Hindū Trimūrti or three-fold image of Brahma with Vishnu and Śiva. In the images the three heads are combined, the bearded face of Brahmā appearing in the centre. This is alluded to also in § 87, where the names of Brahmā, Vishnu and Mahēvara (or Śiva) are given in the form Berma, Besma, Maçeru. This does not form part of early Hinduism, and is one of the forms which were developed under Tantric influences in the Middle Ages. This the Portuguese took for a representation of the Trinity. The account of the adoration shown by Hindus to "Santa Maria" in Christian churches shows that they also shared the belief that the figures in Portuguese Churches might be identified with some of their own. Had Buddhism been still in existence in Western India we should be tempted to suppose that Māyā, the mother of Gautama, was the figure identified with the Madonna; but as this was not the case, the Jain figures of the Mother of the Tirthankara Pārswanātha with her son seem to be more likely to have appealed to the Portuguese. If it was merely a resemblance in the sound of the name and not the image that suggested the resemblance, the goddess known as the Mother (Mātā or Māi) shows most likeness to Maria. This name is borne by many popular goddesses. Her cult is especially prevalent in Gujārāt, the province with which Barbosa is here dealing (Crooke, *Popular Religions of India*, I, p. 112). Māyā or "illusion" is also sometimes worshipped. In Southern India the earth-goddess is known as Mari-ammā, but her worship does not extend to Gujārāt.

Heathen wheresoever they find our churches enter them and make prayers and adorations to our Images, always asking for Santa Maria, like men who have some knowledge and understanding of these matters ; and they honour the Church as is our manner, saying that between them and us there is little difference.

These *Bramenes* go bare from the waist up, and below they clothe themselves with cotton clothes. Over the shoulder they wear a cord of three strands,¹ by which sign they are known to be *Bramenes*. These men never eat anything subject to death, nor do they slay anything. Bathing they hold to be a great ceremony and they say that by it they are saved. The *Bramenes* and also the *Baneanes* marry one wife only, according to our practice, but once only, not a second time. At their weddings they have great festivities which continue for many days, wherein are gathered together much people well clothed and adorned ; entertaining them in noble style. For the most part both men and women marry very young, and on the day appointed for their reception the bride

¹ *The sacred thread.* This thread is always worn by Brāhmans, and with certain small differences by members of other non-Brahman castes who are believed to be included among the "twice-born" castes, the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. Their cords are distinguished from those of the Brahmins by the number of knots in them. The cord is worn over the left shoulder, and is composed of three strands obtained from cotton growing wild. His allusion to these cords and to the importance attached to bathing as a religious exercise shows the closeness and accuracy of Barbosa's observation. He was also accurate in the main as to the practice of marrying one wife only, although among certain castes or sections of castes polygamy is now frequent. It is probably not of great antiquity. The description of the marriage ceremony is excellent, and too much importance need not be attached to the use of the word "mosque" (*mesquita*—Ar. *masjid*) to denote a Hindu shrine. The Spanish version calls it "a small table" as does Ramusio (unless indeed Lord Stanley and Ramusio read *mesquita* as *mesita*). What Barbosa meant by *mesquita* was doubtless a small shrine with a dome or canopy which suggested the shape of a Muhammadan mosque. His only important mistake is in stating that the prohibition of re-marriage applies to husbands as well as to wives.

and bridegroom are seated on a dais ; they are covered with gold and gems and jewels, and in front of them they have a mosque with an idol covered with flowers with many oil-lamps burning around it. There must both of them stay from morn till eve keeping their eyes fixed on that Idol, neither eating, nor drinking, nor speaking one to the other nor to any person else. During this time they are entertained by the peoples with dances and songs, firing of bombs and rockets in plenty, for their pleasure. And as they may marry once only, if the husband dies the wife may never marry again, how young soever she may be ; and it is the same with the husband. Their sons are their lawful heirs to their property and to their position also, for *Bramenes* must be sons of *Bramenes*.

Among them are others of low degree who act as messengers and go safely everywhere without molestation from any, even during war or from highwaymen ; these men they call *Pateles*.¹

§ 48. THE KING OF GUZERATE'S KINGDOM OF CAMBAYA.²

THE true king of Guzerate is a very great Lord, as well by the people he rules, as by the revenues he enjoys, and his very wealthy country. He is a Moor, as also are his men at arms, he has a great court with many horsemen,

¹ *Pateles*. *Patāl* is the name given in Western India to the head-man of a village. It is also borne as a name by certain sub-divisions of castes, and by the Ahirs and Bhoyars it is used as a title. Russell (*Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces*, II, p. 35), says that in Mandla the Ahirs hold the title, as having been at one time holders of large grazing contracts. For the Bhoyars see ditto (II, p. 300). It is probable that some men of these castes acted as messengers for the Brahmans in Barbosa's time. The Spanish version and Ramusio turn the name *Patel* into *Pater*.

² In the section the affairs of the Muhammadan kingdom of Gujarāt are dealt with, as distinguished from the Hindū inhabitants.

and is lord of horses and elephants in great numbers. The elephants come from Ceilam and Malabar to be sold in his kingdom; of horses his land has plenty; so that with both elephants and horses he wages great wars against the Heathen of the kingdom of Guzerate, whom they call Resbutos,¹ who are not yet obedient to him, and also against the other kings with whom, from time to time, he is at war. They build wooden castles on the elephants' backs, which will hold three or four men armed with bows, arrows, arquebuses and other weapons. From these castles they fight against their enemies, and the aforesaid elephants² are so well trained to this, that when they enter into a battle they strike both horses and warriors with their tusks with such force that they are soon vanquished in any battle. If they are wounded they take to flight at once, and overthrow one another, even those on their own side. Of these the King of Cambaya always keeps four or five hundred great and fine elephants,

¹ The wars with the Rājputs waged by the kings of Gūjarāt were constant up till the time of Mahmūd I.

The kings possessed but a small strip of country, hedged in by Rājput tribes, with strong hill forts such as Gārnār and Champānār, which were taken by this king. The wealth derived from the trade of Kambāyat no doubt enabled him to enlarge his army and to train it according to the modern ideas learnt from the Turks as to fire-arms, and to keep up a large force of war elephants imported, as is here described, from Southern India. There was a local breed of horses suitable for cavalry, and horses also came in large numbers from the coast of Arabia and the Persian Gulf. The "other kings" here alluded to are the rival Muhammadan kingdoms of Mālwa and the Deccan, which, like Gujarāt, had arisen from the ruin of the Dehli Saltanat after Tīmūr's invasions. That Saltanat had to some extent revived under the rule of the Lōdi Afghāns, but it was not till the establishment of the Mughal Empire (some fifteen years after this book was written) that the rulers of Delhi again began to interfere with the Southern Kingdoms.

² The value of elephants in fighting was always a doubtful quantity, but every Oriental monarch considered a large force of elephants indispensable to his power and glory. The value of the cruzado may be taken at about ten shillings of modern money (see § 37, note), so that the price of each elephant may be taken as about £750, a very large sum considering the purchasing value of money at that period.

which he purchases at one thousand five hundred cruzados each, more or less, at the seaports where they bring them for sale. And in this manner, what with the elephants and the horses, they fight very well. They are also very skilful horsemen, they ride high-pommelled¹ saddles, and carry strong round shields covered with silk. Every man carries two swords, a dagger and a Turkish bow with very good arrows; others carry steel maces. Many of them wear coats of mail, and others jackets quilted with cotton. The foreparts of their horses are caparisoned with steel. They are so light and skilful in the saddle that they play the game of *choqua*² on horseback, which game they hold in as much estimation among them as we do the *jogo das canas*, the "reed game."

The Moors of this kingdom are fair in complexion, and the more part of them are foreigners from many lands, *scilicet* Turks,³ Mamalukes, Arabs, Persians,

¹ The phrase used by Barbosa is "cavalgaom ha bastarda," which is applied to riding on the high-pommelled oriental saddle. The same phrase occurs in Ramusio, and in the Spanish version, where Lord Stanley translates "ride small saddles." These texts both add "and make use of whips" (*servonsi de sferze* in Ramusio), a phrase not found in the Portuguese. Cf. §73, p. 180, n. 1.

² The game of *choqua* is the Persian *changān*, the modern Polo, which had been brought with them into India by the Muhammadan invaders, who were for the most part Persianised Turks. Sir H. Yule (*s.v.* Chicane) quotes this passage in his glossary, and translates it as follows "They are so dexterous in the saddle that they play *choca* on horseback, a game which they hold in high esteem, as we do that of the canes, (*i.e.*, the jereed)."

The *jogo das canas* however was the name of a game prevalent in Portugal. Even as late as the end of the eighteenth century, Vieyra in his dictionary, *s.v.* *canas*, defines it as "a sort of exercise used by gentleman on horseback representing a fight, with reeds instead of lances."

³ The cosmopolitan nature of the population gathered in Gujarāt, mainly no doubt at the great seaport of Kambāyat, is well illustrated here. The Arabs, Turks and Mamlūks (*i.e.*, the ruling class in Egypt) came by sea, and the same may be said of the Persians, by whom is meant those of South Persia near the Persian Gulf. The inhabitants of North Persia probably made their way overland via Kandahār from Herāt. They are called Coraones or Khorāsānis, from the country of Khorāsān, a name which at that period included the whole kingdom

Coraçones, and Targimões; others come from the great kingdom of Dely, and others of the land itself; and there gather together many ships of these folk, for that the land is rich and well furnished, and they receive good wages from the king, well paid.

They go very well attired in rich cloth of gold, silk, cotton and camlets.¹ They all wear turbans² on their heads; these turbans are long, like Moorish shirts; drawers, with boots up to the knee of very thick cordovan leather, worked in very dainty devices within and without the tip of the shoe. Their short swords (*traçados*) are finely damascened with gold and silver according to the rank of the wearer, which swords are borne for them by their servants. They have very beautiful, white women, very well clad, and they may marry as many as they can maintain, in accordance with the law of Mafamede; so many of them have four or five,³ all recognised and maintained.

ruled over by Husain Baikara of Herāt, including Sistān and Kandahār. The text has Coraçones, a scribe's error for Coraçones, the cedilla being often carelessly omitted. The mistake is followed by Ramusio, who has *Coracani*. The Targinoes or rather Targimões, are the Turcomans from further north. Ramusio gives it the better form of Turcomanni

¹ *Camlets*. The Spanish version has "goat's hair" according to Lord Stanley's translation. The camlets, originally supposed to have been made of camel's hair, owing to the mistaken notion that the Arabic *khaml* meant *camel*, were in reality made of silk mixed with wool, and often with the hair of the Angora goat. The mixture of some other fibre, generally some form of wool, with silk is common among Muhammadans, owing to their belief that silk is forbidden by their religion. Such mixed silks are made at the present day in the Muhammadan State of Bahāwalpur in India.

² *Turbans*. The word in the text is *louquas*, always used by Barbosa for turbans. Ramusio has *fazzuoli* or kerchiefs, but Lord Stanley translates "caps," and then says "and their clothes long." But the point is the length of the turbans or "*lungis*," not of the clothes, and Barbosa compares them in length to the long Moorish "shirts" or "*jibbas*" of the Arabs.

The "boots up to the knees" are a central Asian custom and were probably confined to the Turcoman element. The Baloches who invaded the Indus valley about this period also, according to their ballads, wore long red boots.

³ The legal number of wives a Muhammadan may marry is limited to four.

These Moors¹ of Cambaya speak many tongues: Arabic, Turkish, Guzarate. They eat good wheaten bread, rice, very good flesh-meat of all kinds except that which is forbidden by their creed.

They are luxurious, free livers, great spenders; they always have their heads shaven, and the women [have] very fine hair. When these women are brought forth from their houses they are put into horse carriages entirely covered, so that no man may see who travels within, for they are beyond measure jealous. They can divorce themselves whenever they wish on paying to the wife certain moneys which they promise her at the time of marriage, if they change their minds after a certain time. The wife has the same liberty.²

This King of Cambaya is called Soltam Moordafaa³ (Mudhaffar Shāh). He has been king but a short

¹ The mention of the Gujarātī language shows exceptional observation, but Barbosa is specially mentioned as a student of Indian languages: as to this Lord Stanley observes "Urdu perhaps is meant by the writer." Though why Urdū rather than Gujarātī is not easy to understand. Possibly the note refers to Turkish, but as Turks abounded their language must have been spoken. Urdū did not grow up as the court language of Dehli till a later period, and there is no ground whatever for supposing that the Hindi from which it was developed ever spread as far south as Gujarāt.

² It is, of course, incorrect to say that a Muhammadan wife has the same liberty of divorce as the husband. The allusion to what is called in Muhammadān law *mahr* (generally translated "dower") is accurate. The sum fixed at marriage to be paid on an unreasonable divorce acts as a great deterrent. An extravagant sum far beyond the means of the parties is often successfully demanded by the wife's relations as a defence against divorce.

³ In his account of the reigning king of Gujarāt, Mudhaffar Shāh, and his great predecessor, Mahmūd Shāh, Baigarah, which gives their names as correctly as was possible to a Portuguese writer, Barbosa has here been badly treated by Ramusio and in the Spanish version. His name for Mudhaffar Shāh (Moordafaa) is omitted altogether and Mahmūd (Mahamude) is turned into Mahomet and Maumetto, i.e., Muhammad. The curious story of Mahmūd Shāh having been brought up on poison was certainly current at the time, for it is mentioned by Varthema, who visited Kambāyat about 1503, while Mahmūd was still reigning. Barbosa must have heard it just after his death in 1511, as he mentions his successor, yet it is not mentioned by any native chronicler. They do, however, tell tales about his abnormal appetite; his daily allowance of food being about forty-one lbs. (See *The Coins*

time. His father was called Soltam Mahamude (Mahmūd Shāh) who from a child was brought up and fed on poison. His father wished to rear him this way that they might not be able to kill him by poison ; (for the kings of the Moors have this custom ; that they give orders to kill one another by poison). He began to eat it in such small doses that it could do him no evil, and in this manner he continued so filled with poison that when a fly touched him, as soon as it reached his flesh it forthwith died and swelled up, and as many women as slept with him perished.

" And for this he kept a ring of such virtue that the poison could have no effect on her who put it in her mouth before she lay down with him." And he could never give up eating this poison, for if he did so he would die forthwith, as we see by experience of the opium¹ which the most of the Moors and Indians eat ; if they left off eating it they would die ; and if those

of the *Gujarāt Saltanat*, by Revd. G. P. Taylor, *Journal Bombay Branch R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 290, and the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* translated in Sir E. C. Bayley's *History of Gujarāt*, p. 162.)

Ramusio's versions of Varthema and Barboza spread the story through Europe, and it found its way into Purchas (II, 1495). Butler's allusion in *Hudibras*, where he turns the poison into "asps, basilisks and toads" is well known.

(*Hudibras*, Pt. II, Canto I, l. 753 ff.).

The Prince of Cambay's daily food

Is asp and basilisk and toad,

Which makes him have so strong a breath,

Each night he stinks a queen to death.

Probably out of his enormous appetite stories grew as to the abnormal nature of the things he ate. He was also known for the length of his moustaches, which he could tie together over his head, a feat which many Sikhs in the Panjab can rival.

Tales of kings with poisoned breath wander about in the east and are fathered generally upon conquerors known for their violence and cruelty. I heard such a story about Nādir Shah among the Baloches (see *Folklore*, 1897, p. 77).

¹ *Opium*. This account of the practice of opium-eating, and its gradual effects, is very accurate. The Portuguese word used, "*amfiam*," is taken from the Arabic *afyān* which is itself derived from the Greek *ἄνιον*. Ramusio also uses the Portuguese term and explains it by the Italian *oppio*.

ate it who had never before eaten it, they too would die; so they begin to eat it in such small quantities, that it can work them no ill, as they are reared on it, and as they grow up they are accustomed to it. This opium is cold in the fourth degree; it is the cold part of it that kills. The Moors eat it as a means of provoking lust, and the Indian women take it to kill themselves when they have fallen into any folly, or for any loss of honour, or for despair. They drink it dissolved in a little oil and die in their sleep without perception of death.

§ 49. THE CITY OF CHAMPANEL.

THIS same King of Guzerate has in his realm great and fine cities, of which I shall henceforth treat, and in the first place is the City of Champanel¹ where he always dwells with all his court, the which city lies inland in a land of broad plains, which yield great store of food; *scilicet*, abundance of wheat, barley, millet, rice,

¹ Champānēl, spelt Champaver in the Spanish version, and Campanero in Ramusio.

The proper form of the name is Champānēr, the termination -nēr being a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit *nagara*, a city. It is supposed to have been founded by a king named Chāmpā.

Champānēr, now entirely ruined, is situated a short distance N.E. of Baroda in the hill country of the Pāṇch Mahāls. It was a strongly fortified mountain town and the capital of a Rājput chief, Rāwal Jai Singh (whom Firishta calls Rai Banāhi.) It was taken after a two years' siege by Mahmūd Shah in 1484 A.D. He immediately made it his capital and a mint town, giving it the name of Muhammadābād. On one of his coins it appears as "Muhammadābād alias Chāmpānēr." Its prosperity under the kings of Gujarāt fully bears out Barbosa's description. It was specially famous for its fruit, its mangoes being famous. The Mughal Emperor Humāyūn took it in 1535 A.D. and made it a mint town, but thereafter it declined rapidly. The kings of Gujarāt as long as they remained independent of the Mughal Empire made Abmadābād their capital.

(See Sir E. C. Bayley's *History of Gujarāt*, 1880; Rev. G. P. Taylor, *Coins of the Gujarāt Saltanat* [Journal Bombay Branch R.A.S., 1903, pp. 291-293]; Whitehead, *Coins of the Mughal Emperors*, Lahore Museum, pp. lxx

kermes¹ grain, chick-peas, lentils and many other kinds of pulse. They also rear much cattle, sheep and goats, whence the country-folk obtain good nurture; here, too, there is much fruit, and in the city there is enough and to spare of all things. In the surrounding country are great mountains, where are found many deer and other beasts of the chase. Here also there is much hunting of fowls, for which they keep falcons,² sparrow-hawks, greyhounds, bloodhounds and lybreos, and for mountain hunting they keep trained cheetahs,³ which hunt game of all kinds. The king has a great curiosity about animals, and possesses many of divers kinds, which he orders to be sought for his diversion, and to be bred throughout the world. He sent a Ganda⁴

¹ *Kermes grain*. The word *grão* (*gram* in the old spelling, is almost always used in the sense of the red dye (not really a grain). The use of the word *gram* (pronounced as an English word) to denote the chick-pea (*Cicer arelinus*) is modern. For this Barbosa employed the word *chicharo* (*chicharro* in modern spelling, the correct Portuguese name for this pea.

It is not given in the corresponding list in the Spanish version and Ramusio.

² In this list of dogs and hawks used for hunting and hawking, the Spanish version and Ramusio only say "dogs and falcons." The Portuguese terms are "*falcoes, gaviões, galgos, sabujos, e lybreos*." *Libreo* is given by Vieyra as a large Irish greyhound, and also as an equivalent of *cão de fila* (a mastiff). Possibly the Persian greyhound is intended, while *galgo* refers to the light and swift greyhounds found in Balochistan. *Sabujo*, properly a bloodhound, probably denotes any kind of hound which hunts by scent rather than by sight.

³ The word I have here translated "Cheetahs" is in the Portuguese *onças*, i.e., some kind of ounce or panther, undoubtedly the hunting cheetah.

⁴ It is only necessary to allude here to Lord Stanley's unfortunate mistake in his note on p. 58 of his translation. He supposed the word *ganda*, a rhinoceros, to denote a woman of the Gond tribe, as to which Sir H. Yule observes in his Glossary (*Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Genda*) that it is "a marvel in the way of error." The use of the feminine in the Portuguese text no doubt contributed towards the error. *Gāndā*, the Hindi and Gūjarāti word for a rhinoceros, is a masculine form. The feminine would be *gēndī*. But the Portuguese naturally took the termination in *a* to be feminine.

The full story as told by De Barros deserves quotation. It relates to the events of the year 1514.

"In return for many rich gifts which Diogo Fernandez took to the king, besides others which he sent to Afonso d'Albuquerque,

(rhinoceros) to the King our Lord, as they told him he would be pleased with it.

§ 50. THE CITY OF ANDAVA.

IN the inland country going forwards from this city of Champanel there is another much greater than it, called Andava,¹ in which the kings of this kingdom held their courts of old, inasmuch as it is very rich. Both of these towns are girt with strong walls and have fine stone and mortar houses roofed in our fashion. They have large courtyards in which are tanks and wells of sweet water. Their beasts of burden are camels. They have beautiful sweet-water streams in which many fishes breed ; here, too are many fruit-gardens and orchards. In this city and in many other inland towns the King of Cambaya keeps his Governors and Collectors of Revenue. And if, in the discharge of their duties, they do any wrong, the king, when he has

there was an animal, the greatest after the elephant which nature has produced, his great enemy, a beast with one horn, which it carries directly over the nose, about two palms in length, thick at the base and sharp at the point : which the natives of the land of Cambaya, whence it came, call Ganda, and the Greeks and Latins Rhinoceros ; and Affonso d'Albuquerque sent it to the King, Dom Manuel, and it came to this kingdom, and was lost in a ship on the way to Rome, whither the King was sending it as a present to the Pope " (De Barros, *Dec. II*, Bk. x, Ch. 1).

Mr. Whiteway says " It is the very animal immortalised by Dürer " (*Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, p. 151, n.).

This unlucky beast was probably the first of its race to visit Europe.

¹ The text as printed has Andana, doubtless an error for Andava. The Spanish version has Andavat and Ramusio Ardavat. Ahmadābād takes its name from its founder, Ahmad Shah the third king of Gujārāt, and the first to raise the kingdom to the high rank it long held. He chose the position for its salubrity and fertility, and in 1411 commenced the erection of the beautiful mosques and other gems of architecture which have made Ahmadābād famous. It ceased to be the capital when Mahmūd Shah took Champānēr, but recovered its dignity when that town was sacked by Humāyūn in 1535. Under the Mughal emperors it continued to be a centre of provincial government and its importance is attested by the long series of coins in gold, silver and copper struck at its mint. Under the British Government it continues to be an important centre, and gives its name to a district.

knowledge thereof, calls them before him, when, if they are not able to show good cause for their actions, he orders them to take a poisoned draught, on drinking which they straightway die. In this manner he punishes them, and all hold him in great dread.

As well as these and many other inland towns, as I have said, there are others which he holds on the sea-coast, which are the following.

§ 51. PATENEXY.

On leaving the kingdom of Diul, travelling towards India, there is a large town which they call Patenexy,¹

¹ The identification of the port of Patenexy is attended with some difficulty. The first part of the name is undoubtedly *pattan* "a port." Many places on this coast bear the name Patan, and it marks certain towns now far from the coast which were formerly ports, much as the name "hythe" may occasionally be found in England. Among these is the Pattan of our maps (22° 51' N. 72° 10' E.) to the north of Ahmadābād, which is the town of Anhilwara or Nahrwāla, taken by Mahmūd of Ghazni. It is called Anharwāla Pattan on a coin of Akbar of 985 A.H. (*J.A.S.B.*, Numismatic Supplement, xi, 85, 1909, and xxv, 147, 1915).

Another port which was also a mint-town under the Mughals, was Porbandar (Bandar and Pattan have the same meaning). The most celebrated Pattan on the Gujarāt coast was Somnāth, celebrated for the temple destroyed by Mahmūd of Ghazni, the gates of which were at one time believed to be those brought back from Ghazni by Lord Ellenborough's orders in 1842. The "Pattan" perhaps lay between Verāwal and the present Somnāth, as the great Shiva temple is situated in the middle of the bay, Verāwal being on the Western headland and Somnāth on the eastern. The names Dēo Pattan and Prabhās Pattan have also been used for this harbour.

If, as Barbosa seems to indicate, Patenexy is the first port in the Kāthiāwār peninsula at which a ship coming from Sindh would touch, Porbandar would correspond best with it. But there is nothing to show that it ever bore the name Pattan. The Verāwal-Somnāth port was more important, and could hardly have been passed without notice.

In the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* (1571) translated by Sir E. C. Bayley in his *History of Gujarāt*, p. 18, Batāwal is included in a list of Gujarāt ports held by the Europeans. Sir E. C. Bayley identifies it with Virāwal, "the port of Somnāt."

I have not been able to find any name corresponding with the latter part of Patenexy. The Spanish version has the form Patenxi, and Ramusio Patenissi. It may possibly stand for *Pattan Isha*, "the Lord's port," in which case the meaning would correspond with Pattan Dēo.

The port of Pattan Dēo, at which coins were struck by the Mughal

with a good harbour, rich and with much trade. Here there is much coloured silk cloth, richly embroidered, which is worn throughout India, Malaca and Bengala, also abundance of cotton cloth. Hither come many Indian ships, bearing great store of cocoanuts and palm-sugar, which they call *jagra*,¹ and some spices. Hence they take away much cloth, cotton, horses and wheat, and other things from which they gain much money. Their voyages, with halts, last four months.

§ 52. ÇURiate, MANGALOR.²

FOLLOWING the coast hence there are two other towns, one Çuriate by name, and one Mangalor. They have

Emperor Shāh Jahān has been identified with Somnāth or Verāwal (Whitehead, *Cat. of Coins in Lahore Museum*, Vol. II, lxi).

De Barros (Vol. IV, p. 251, ed. 1615), in relating the expedition of Diogo da Silveira to the coast of Kathiāwār in 1532, says that he attacked first Patan twelve leagues from Diu, and afterwards Pate, both of which he sacked, and finally took and burnt Mangalor twenty leagues from Diu. Lavanha's map of Gujarāt in the same volume (reproduced here) shows Pate and Pattan near together on the shores of a bay corresponding with the positions of Somnāth and Verāwal as described above. Por (i.e., Porbandar) is shown on the same map much further west than Mangalor (see also *Castanheda*, vol. viii, ch. 52).

¹ For *jagra*, see § 76, note 3.

² *Çuriate*. In the printed text this name is given as Curiate, the cedilla being omitted.

In the Spanish version the two names are run into one as Surati-mangalor, and this is described as one town. Ramusio also describes it as one town under the name of Curati Mangalor.

Çuriate may be without hesitation identified with Sōrath, the name of the part of the Kāthiāwār peninsula which lies near the S.W. coast including the ports of Porbandar and Mangalor (or Mangrol), and the inland towns of Gīrnār and Junāgarh. It is the ancient Saurāshtra, the Syrastrānē of Greek writers (see McCrindle, *Ancient India of Ptolemy*, p. 37).

One of the ports probably bore the name of the country in popular language.

Ptolemy's words are as follows, vii. 1, 3, *Συραστρην ἧς Συράστρα καὶ μὴ Μονόγλωσσοι ἐμπορίον*

Mangalor has been identified with Monoglossoe, and its situation makes the identification probable. It lost its importance during the Middle Ages but was refounded in 1383. Its harbour is in an exposed position; the temple of Kāmanāth Mahādēo is of great importance

good harbours and much trade. Hence go many ships of Malabar, carrying many horses, wheat, rice and great store of cotton cloth, and other wares which are prized in India. The Malabares bring hither cocoanuts, emery, wax, cardamoms, and many other kinds of spices, from which trade and the voyages, which take but little time, they make great gains.

§ 53. DIO.

AFTER departing thus from these towns, Mangalor and Çuriate, along the coast there is a point where the land projects into the sea, on which is a great town named by the Malabares Devixa, and by the Moors of the land it is called Dio.¹ It is on a small island, hard by the main, and has a right good harbour, a trading port

(see the Articles Surat and Sûrath, and Mangalor in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed.). The form Mangrol (used to distinguish the northern from the southern Mangalor) is in general use. (For Diogo da Silveira's attack on Mangalore in 1532, see § 51, p. 126, Note 1).

¹ Dio or Diu is a seaport on a small island lying off the southern extremity of the Kāthiāwār peninsula. Its name, properly Dīv, is, according to the accepted derivation, from the Skr. *Dvīpa* "an island," like the similar termination in Anchediva, Laccadive, and Maldive. (See *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Diu.) The Spanish version calls it Dui in the heading, but Diu in the text. The second name (which Barbosa asserts to have been the Malabāri (i.e., Malayālam) form of the word) Devixa, is given as Divixa (Dvuxa or Dinixa) in the Spanish and as Diuxa by Ramusio. This form, used by the Hindūs, throws some doubt on the derivation from *dvīpa*, and suggests a religious origin. The Portuguese termination *ixa* corresponds exactly to *isha*, "a lord," used especially of Siva, *Dēvi-sha* would mean Devi's lord, with reference to Devi, his consort.

There does not seem to be any record of Diu among the Arab historians and geographers, although the country of Gujarāt was well known to them. It is, however, possible that it is to be identified with the port of Tiyu mentioned by Chinese annalists about the year 700 A.D., as Yule supposes, but this is very doubtful. The prosperity mentioned by Barbosa had probably grown up under the Musalmān kings of Gujarāt, see the account of its origin in note 1, page 130. The prominent position of the island and its possession of a port sufficiently deep for the ships of that period led to this development. It was a convenient meeting-place for the ships trading with East Africa, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and those which went from port to port along the west coast of India. Its island offered a secure position to a naval power, and its acquisition early became an object with the Portuguese.

used by many ships, with exceeding great traffic and commerce with Malabar,¹ Baticala, Guoa, Chaul, and Dabul. Ships also sail hence to Meca, Adem, Zeila, Barbora, Magadoxo, Melinde, Brava, Mombaça, and Ormus with the kingdom thereof. The articles of merchandize brought hither by the Malabares are as follows: cocoanuts (great store), areca, jagra, emery, wax, iron, Baticala sugar, pepper, ginger, cloves, cinnamon, mace, nutmegs, sandal-wood, brasil-wood, long peppers, and, besides these, many silks and other wares which come from China and Malaca. From Chaul and Dabul they bring thither great store of woven cottons and linens, and take them away again to Arabia, and Persia. The traders who bring these goods take in return much silk cloth and country cotton, many horses, wheat, gingelly (and the oil got from it), cotton, opium, both that brought from Aden and that which they make in Cambaya, which is not so fine as the former. They also take many of the common silk camlets made in Cambaya, which are good and cheap. From India also they bring many large carpets,² taffety, cloth of scarlet-in-grain and other colours, spices

¹ The list of ports and of the articles of commerce dealt in at Diu shows the extent of its trade, which apparently was greater even than that of Kambāyat. It was easier of access and was outside the influence of the dangerous tides and currents of the Gulf of Cambay.

In the list of ports between Mombaça and Hurmuz the Spanish version inserts Xer (Shihr) but is not here followed by Ramusio. The Spanish version also adds that the cotton stuffs brought from Chaul and Dābhol are called *beyranies* (*Bairami* in Ramusio), which does not occur in the Portuguese text.

Apparently the passage in § 66, Chaul, on p. 161, beginning with the words "From this port of Dyo" has been transferred by a copyist from this section. In that passage occur the words *beatilha* and *beirame* (see § 66, p. 161, n. 1).

² *Carpets*. *Alcatifas* in the text as also in the Spanish version, on which Lord Stanley has this note. [This word *alcátifa* might also mean velvets, at least that is its meaning in Arabic and Wallachian, in modern Spanish it means a fine carpet.]

Dozy also says it means "*tapis ou couverture*" and derives it from Arabic *al-Katifah*.

and other things, and all these goods are carried by the folk of this country to Meca, Adem, Ormus and other parts of Arabia and Persia, to such a degree that this town now has the greatest trade of any found in these regions; and yields such a sum of money that it is an astonishing thing, by reason of the bulky and precious goods that are here laden and unladen. Thus from Meca and Adem alone they bring hither coral, copper, quicksilver, vermilion, lead, alum, madder, rose-water, saffron, gold, silver, (coined and bullion) in such abundance that it cannot be reckoned. The King of Cambaya has here a Governour named Malinquās,¹ who is an old man, a very good rider, judi-

¹ Malinquās (Melquiaz in the Spanish version, Melchias in Ramusio) stands for Malik Ayyāz, whom De Barros calls Malik Az, who at this time was not only governor of Diū under the kings of Gujarāt, but one of the first warriors of the day, and a man who had had a most remarkable career, which is related in full by De Barros (*Dec. II*, Book ii, Cap. 9) as follows:

"Melique Az was by nation a Russian of the heretic Christians of Russia, taken to Constantinople by the Turks among other captives. Who, having been bought by a merchant who traded between Constantinople and Damascus and Alepo, and thence to Bosçora which is at the end of the Persian sea, it so happened that this merchant, while travelling with a cáfila from Alepo to Basçora, was attacked by certain Alarves (Bedāwī) who wished to rob the cáfila, and all the merchants defended it. And in that fight this Melique Az (who was at that time called Yaz) as he was a young man, and (according to the practice of his country) a great archer, did such deeds to protect his master as to deserve the name of a valiant man. The cáfila, having been saved from the Arabs, reached Basçora, and his master went on to Ormuz with his goods, and thence he went to the kingdom of Cambaya, where the King Mahamud then reigned; to whom in the course of his business the merchant made presents of what he had with him, and among these presents he gave him his slave Yaz, as a jewel of great price, being a good archer and a young man of such a stout heart as he had never met with before. This Yaz then being with the King, and a warrior being so much prized among them that it makes slaves free, and that they rise to be lords, it happened that being held a valiant man he was engaged in the wars of the kingdom of Cambaya, and the following event came to pass, which made him a freeman from being a slave. The king being in the field where he had drawn up his army on account of a war against the king of Mando (*i.e.*, Mandū, the capital of Málwa) a hawk passing overhead let fall its droppings on the head of the King, who was in the field outside his tent, and as the Moors are very superstitious about anything which makes them unclean, especially when they

cious, industrious and learned. He lives in a very orderly manner, and shows a powerful mind in all his affairs. He possesses a very strong artillery, which is

are at war, and still more when it comes from the air, the King was in such a violent rage that he said, turning to those around him, 'There is nothing I would not give to kill that bird!' Yaz who was present, hearing the King's words, fitted an arrow to his bow, and fortune so favoured him, perceiving his condition, that he saw the hawk come down pierced by his arrow. And the King, seeing his wish so accomplished, was so pleased with the skill of Yaz, that he freed him at once, and gave him the pay of a free-man. In the end, being a wise and prudent as well as a brave man, and able in business, he rose little by little to the rank of one of the Chief Captains the King had, who gave him as a distinction the forename of Melique, that is a sign of honour among them, and further in reward of his services he gave him the town of Dio which is situated on a point of the land, and because the sea surrounds it with a strait which gives it a triangular shape, it bears the name of island. And this town, according to the Chronicle of the Kings of Guzarate was built by Dariar Hão father of this Muhamud. It was then only a fisher-village, but in ancient days there had been a city there, of which but few ruins remained with some inscriptions in the most ancient Guzarate tongue. And the Chronicle relates that this King Dariar Hão built this city on account of a victory he won over certain Chinese junks which had put in there at the time in which they had a factory at Cochij, and in some parts of India.

When King Mahmūd gave it to Melique Az it was new and little frequented, but he, as a wise and prudent man, made it so celebrated for its trade, as to make him a very rich man in addition to the yearly tribute he paid the King; and by means of his wealth he fortified and adorned the town with walls, towers and bulwarks, mainly before we came into India.

And by reason of its being outside the reach of the bores of the Gulf of Cambaya, which destroyed so many ships, it became much frequented . . . and Melique Az was much envied."

The account given by his contemporary Barbosa fully bears out De Barros' opinion of the ability of Malik Ayyāz.

For the story of Malik Ayyāz reference may be made to Sir E. C. Bayley's *History of Gujārāt*, and to Sikandar bin Muhammad's *Mir'at-i-sikandarī* (translated by Bayley). The later dates from 1611, and probably De Barros is the earliest authority we have for these events. Correa (Correa, I, p. 746) does not allude to this story, but says simply, "Melequiaz was a foreigner, a Moor, a Jao by caste," i.e., according to him he was a native of Java or Sumatra. Incidentally, this is a very early use of the word *casta* or "caste" in Portuguese, in a sense very close to the modern use, more so possibly than that in which Barbosa uses it in § 87 (p. 316 of the 1812 ed. and 317 of the 1867 reprint). Correa no doubt wrote at a later period than Barbosa. See the remark on this quotation in *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Caste.

Dariar Hão, the founder of modern Diū, is no doubt Jalāl Khān, afterwards Ahmad Shah II. He was brother (not father) of Mahmūd Shah, but as another king (their uncle) was on the throne between them, it was a natural assumption that he must have been the father of the reigning monarch. He was at war with the kings of Mālwa, whose capital was at Mandū.

renewed from day to day. He also has many rowing galleys, well designed and equipped, some of them small and very light, called *atalayas*.¹ He has built a very strong boom across the harbour, furnished with heavy artillery and many gunners always present, with numbers of men-at-arms well trained and equipped, whom he pays right well. He is very prudent and holds the might of the King our Lord in great dread.² He gives great entertainment to our

¹ *Atalayas*.

[Coast-guards, watch-boats.—St.]

Dozy, in his *Glossaire des mots Espagnols et Portugais dérivés de l'Arabe*, has a long note on this word, which he derives from Arabic *at-talāyi* plural of *at-tali'a*, originally meaning "watchmen or sentinels." He says nothing of its employment in the sense of a boat. It evidently originally was applied to boats employed in guarding and watching the coast, but Malik Ayyāz's *Atalaya*'s must have been equipped for fighting, as they seem to have been identical with the *fustas* or foists which took part in the action at Chaul when Dom Lourenço d'Almeida was killed, and also in the subsequent action at Diū.

² [This passage seems to fix the date of this work as previous to 1515, since in that year the Portuguese made themselves masters of Diu, in which they built a fortress in 1536 (*Diccion. Geog. Universal*, Barcelona, 1831).—St.]

In this note Lord Stanley was misled by the authority he relied on. The Portuguese did not make themselves masters of Diu in 1515 and therefore no inference can be drawn as to the date of the completion of Barbosa's work. The occupation of Diū did not take place till long after his death in 1521.

Albuquerque saw the value of Diu and wished to take possession of it. His fleet put in there in 1513 on his return from the Aden and Red Sea expedition, but he found Malik Ayyāz well prepared, and was unable to obtain the concession of a factory for Portugal. In 1521 the incompetent Diogo Lopes Sequeira made some vain attempts on Diu which only led to disaster. Malik Ayyāz died in 1523, and his son, Ishāk, gradually lost all authority. Diu came more directly under the kings of Gujarāt, and another son of Ayyāz was appointed Governor. Nuno da Cunha attacked Diu in 1531, but with the assistance of a Turkish fleet under Mustafa (the Turks having replaced the Egyptians in the Red Sea) he was defeated. It was not till 1535 when Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt was hard pressed in his war with the Emperor Humāyūn that he came to terms with the Portuguese, and a fort was at last built at Diū. Meanwhile Bahādur Shāh, having gained some successes against the Mughals, began to regret his concessions to the Portuguese, and bad feeling arose between them. A quarrel broke out during a visit to the Governor's ship, and Bahādur Shāh was knocked overboard and drowned. Diū thereafter remained in the hands of the Portuguese (1537).

Shortly afterwards a storm burst upon Diu. A large Gujarāt army attacked it by land, and a powerful Turkish fleet by sea. The fort

ships and people who put in at his port. The people of the country are properly punished and dealt with justly and according to law; especially those whom he holds in favour, to whom he gives great gifts and privileges.

To this port¹ came a fleet of the Great Soldam with a fine and powerful force well trained and armed, with many sailing ships and rowing galleys, the Captain-in-Chief of which was a Moor named Mirocem. He came to this port and kingdom in order to refit with the help of the King of Cambaya and of this same Governour;

stood a siege for some months, and after a heroic defence the siege was raised, owing to dissensions between the Turks and Gūjarātīs. War broke out again in 1546, Diū was again besieged from April till November, and was only relieved by João de Castro when at the last gasp. This was the last noteworthy event in its history. It has ever since remained part of the possessions of the Portuguese in India.

¹ This sea-fight off Diu is described in detail by all the Portuguese historians of this period. It took place on February 3rd, 1509, the Viceroy Dom Francisco D'Almeida having by this time collected a fleet of sufficient strength to deal with the combined Egyptian and Gujarātī fleets. The part taken by the latter was confined to the *atalayas*, or armed patrol-boats (see last note), and the defeat was a decisive one, and prepared the way for future successes at sea.

The Egyptian fleet was fitted out under the orders of the Mamlūk Sultān of Egypt at Suç. It was built solely for the purpose of suppressing the Portuguese, who had intruded into the Muhammadan monopoly of the trade in the Indian Ocean. De Barros (II, Bk. 2, Ch. 6) tells us that owing to the lack of wood in Egypt the timber needed for this fleet was obtained (by means of the contrivance of the Venetians, whose interest lay in the maintenance of the trade through Egypt and the Persian Gulf) from Escandolor, *i.e.*, Scanderoon or Alexandretta (which was near the forests of the Taurus and Amanus). He relates with some glee that it was only right that, as this timber was to be used against the Portuguese, a Portuguese should have the first pick of it. This was carried out by the Knights of St. John from their headquarters at Rhodes, under the directions of the Portuguese Chancellor of the Order, Frey André do Amaral. The Rhodes ships attacked the timber fleet, taking six and sinking five. Others were wrecked and only ten out of the original twenty-five reached Egypt. The fleet was therefore not so strong as it was intended to be. Like the Turks in the Mediterranean at the same period the Mamlūks had to draw their naval commanders from other races. Their fleet was put under the command of a Kurd named Mir Husain. Some account of this man has already been given in § 26 and § 30. Thus the combined fleets of Egypt and Gujarāt were commanded by a Kurd and a Russian.

Mr. Whiteway (*l.c.* p. 116) speaks of Mir Husain as Mir Hāshim, but the Portuguese form Hocem always stands for Husain. Hāshim would be represented by Haxem.

they were then to go thence to India, to the city of Calecut, where also they were to help in an attack on our people, and to drive them out of India. When they had been some time making themselves ready Dom Francisco Dalmeida, who was then Viceroy, knowing of their stay there, prepared his fleet and accompanied it as its Captain-in-Chief. The Moors sallied forth to encounter him at sea, and at the entrance of the bar both fleets fought so stoutly, that as much on one side as on the other, men were slain and wounded; and at the last the dogs were overcome, many being slain and many others taken; and the aforesaid Captain Mirocem fled, leaving his whole fleet to destruction. The Governour of Dio, who was aiding them with his *atalayas*, beholding this crushing defeat, sent in haste a message to the Viceroy begging for complete peace and friendship with the King our Lord, and in token thereof he sent many presents and supplies.¹

§ 54 GUOGARIM.

AFTER this town of Dio, the coast straightway begins to turn inwards towards Cambaya, and in this Gulf are many havens pertaining to the Kingdom of Guzerate, places with much trade, the chief of which is a large town, with a good harbour, named Guogarim,² where

¹ Lord Stanley in his note on pp. 62, 63 of his translation, accuses Barbosa of having "confused the account of two naval battles," i.e., that of 1507 in which D. Lourenço d'Almeida was killed, and the action at Diu in 1509. There seems to be no ground for this condemnation. Barbosa is dealing only with events connected with Diu, as is his practice in other similar cases; he does not include other actions which led up to that with which he is concerned. The 1507 fight took place, not at Diu but at Chaul, and therefore is not mentioned under Diu.

² *Guogarim*. This name denotes the seaport of Gôghā (Gôgo in some maps) which is in the modern District of Ahmadabad on the west coast of the Gulf of Cambay. It is a place of considerable antiquity and

many ships of Malabar and other parts of India find cargos, and many ships of Meca and Adem also come hither, because they can find goods of all sorts there in as great plenty as at Dio.

§ 55. BARBASY.

CONTINUING along the coast within the Gulf, there is another place named Barbasy,¹ also a good port with

under the Vallabhis it was known as Gundigar. Fr. Jordanus (1321) calls it Caga, and it appears in the Catalan Map (1376) as Gogo. The roadstead is very safe, being sheltered by the island of Përam, which Ibn Batûta alludes to as Bairam I., which he reached in two days by crossing the gulf from Kandahâr (see § 55). After touching there he went on the next day to Gôghâ (Kûkah), which he says possessed large market places or Sûks. It lost a good deal of its trade through the development of Sûrat by the Dutch. It may probably also be identified with the roads of Couali, where vessels anchored after sailing by Diu and the Point of St. John, before proceeding to Surat, as stated by Tavernier (*Travels*, 2nd Part, p. 16, English ed. 1678).

In 1727 it was described by Hamilton as still possessing some trade, but it was gradually deserted.

The district being very productive of cotton (known in the market as Dholera) the trade of Gôghâ had a temporary revival during the American Civil War, but it is now again deserted. Other quotations will be found in the article *Gogo*, *Goga*, in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. 1903.

¹ The only place north of Gôghâ on the West coast of the Gulf of Cambay which corresponds with the position here assigned to Barbasy is Bhaunagar, now the capital of a small principality founded in the eighteenth century which has a harbour and some trade.

There is no such name as Barbasy in Ribero's Map, nor in Dourado's of 1570. Ramusio gives it as Varvasi and the Spanish version as Barbesy.

Mr. W. W. Smart thinks that Barbasy may be the famous old seaport of Vala or Balaba, twenty miles west of Bhaunagar. This town is now far inland, and is no doubt the place named Wullah in the map accompanying Sir E. C. Bayley's *Hist. of Gujarat*. It seems improbable that it could have still been a seaport in the sixteenth century.

The order in which the ports on the Gulf of Cambay are given by Barbosa is confused, and it is possible that, after mentioning Diu and Gôghâ, he does not follow the Western shore of the Gulf but crosses to the Eastern side. In this case he would have adopted a well-known route for trading-ships from Gôghâ to Bharôch (Broach) whence he follows that coast northwards to Ghandhâr (Guindarim) and thence to Cambaya. Ibn Batûta in his voyage southwards to Sindâbûr followed a similar route in the reverse direction. He embarked at Kandahâr (Ghandhâr) and crossed the Gulf to Gôghâ, and thence sailed to Sindâbûr (Goa or its neighbourhood) (*Voyages D'Ibn Batoutah*, iv, pp. 57-61). This would account for the otherwise strange omission of Bharôch, which would naturally come between Limadura and Reynel, in following the coast southwards from Kambaya.

This celebrated old port at the mouth of the Narbada was so well

much shipping, where dealings take place in many kinds of goods, which are taken hence in many directions. In these places the King has his Governours and Collectors and custom-houses which yield him great revenues, also a great sum of money from the dues on merchandize¹ . . . "of which all the towns are full; there is abundance of food also, and many kinds of goods collected in the country, as well as those which come from outside."

§ 56. GUINDARIM.

FURTHER on, after leaving Barbasy, there is a place called Guindarim² at the mouth of a river, with a very

known that it is most improbable that Barbosa, who usually follows the coast line very accurately, should have omitted it altogether. It was the Barygaza on the Nammados of the *Periplus* (the Namades of Ptolemy, who names the Gulf of Cambay the Sinus Barygazenus), Idrīsī calls it Barūj, and Albērūnī Bihrōj, "one of the two capitals of Ar-hilwāra" (*Albērūnī*, I, 205).

In spite of its earlier and later importance very little attention seems to have been paid to it by the Portuguese at first, and it was not till 1547, that Jorge de Menezes, finding it in a bad state of repair, attacked and burnt it. For this exploit he received "Baroche" as an additional surname.

It subsequently became an important trade-centre of the English and Dutch. Its cotton-trade is alluded to by Pietro della Valle, who calls it Barocci, and Mandelslo, who gives it the curious name of Braitschia, expatiates on its importance (Mandelslo's *Travels*, p. 20).

In spite of the dissimilarity of the names Barbasy and Baroche it seems most probable that the two names refer to the same places.

¹ After the word merchandise (*mercadorias*) there is a word missing, as noted by the Portuguese editors. It cannot be supplied from the Spanish version or Ramusio, as in both the section ends at the word here translated "revenues" (*fazendas*). This in the translation of the Spanish is given as "provisions" and by Ramusio as *vettoavaglie*.

² Guindarim is given in the form Buendari in the heading of the section in the Spanish version, but Guendari in the text; Guandari in Ramusio.

It undoubtedly stands for the old town of Ghandhār on the coast near Bharōch (Broach). Although this place is not on the River Mahī which flows by Cambāya, it is on a narrow part of the Gulf nearly opposite Gōghā and Bhaunagar, and the most convenient route to Cambāya may well have passed by it. It is worth noting that Ibn Batūta, wishing to travel south from Cambāya to Sindāpūr (near Goa), went first to Kandahār (Ghandhār) then across the Gulf to Pēram Island and Gōghā, and there took ship to Sindāpur. Even in the first century this

good harbour in which all sorts of goods are dealt with, for the reason that the great city of Cambaya is situated further up the same river. [H]ither come ships in plenty from Malabar, bringing great store of areca-nut, cocoa-nut, spices, sugar, cardamoms, [emery, ivory and elephants] and other things they sell here, and they take away cotton, cloth, wheat, grains, horses, carnelians,¹ and other wares, by which they make great profits in India.]

route was followed. *Periplus*, Sec. 42. Ships going to Barygaza went first to the roadstead near Peram Island (the Bæones) and afterwards straight across the gulf to Barygaza. (Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 39, also note and map on p. 181.)

Idrisi also alludes to this place as Kandahār and there seems to be some confusion in his account with another Kandahār, not the well-known city in Afghānistān, but the country of Gandhāra on the Indus near Peshāwar, which is frequently described by early Arab writers under the name of Kandahār. Several extracts from Arab writers bearing on the manner in which accounts of the three Kandahārs were mixed up are given in Marquart's *Erānshahr*, pp. 263 to 277 (see also Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. 1903, s.v. Candahār, for the three places denoted, where many allusions by later travellers are quoted). Linschoten alludes to it under the name of Lar Gandar, i.e., Ghandhār in Lār.

Lār or Lād is an ancient name for part of Gujarāt, near the Gulf of Cambay. Idrisi's mention of Ghandhār (Kandahār) will be found in Vol. I, pp. 182, 183. The particulars about its being five days' journey from Nahrwāla (Anhilwāra) and the abstention of the people from beef refer evidently to Ghandhār, while the remark that the king of Kandahār cannot take the title of Shāh till he has been crowned at Kābul can only refer to Gandhāra.

The aspirated *g* of Ghandhār was represented by the Arabic *ḡāf*. Even in modern times the name has been spelt Candhār, as in Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs*, 1814, quoted in *Hobson-Jobson*.

¹ *Carnelians*. The word used in the text is *alaequas* (alaequas), a Portuguese adaptation of the Ar. *al-'aḳīk* which is generally applied to carnelians, more especially to red carnelians. Such stones, as well as agates, onyxes, etc., have been exported from an early period from this coast, and the trade in agates and carnelians at Barygaza is mentioned in the *Periplus*. (See the note on p. 193 of Schoff's ed., where Dr. Watt's account of the modern production is also quoted.)

According to Linschoten the "Alakecca" is called "bloodstone" because "it stancheth blood," and another kind is called "milk-stone" because it is "good for women who give milk or suck." Linschoten, II, 141.

No doubt the names have something to do with colour, the red carnelian or alaequas being the "bloodstone" and the white carnelian (the *Bābā Ghori*, see p. 144, n. 3) the milk-stone. The latter is also alluded to as chalcedony by P. della Valle, who says the mines are near Barocci (Bharōch) but the export was mainly from Cambaya (English ed. 1665, p. 32).

Sailing from these ports is very dangerous for keeled ships,¹ because being at the top of the tide the water here runs out so far in the gulf that, in a very short space of time, four or five leagues are left bare, more in some places and less in others, " and when there

¹ The dangerous tides of the Gulf of Cambay and the bore which rushes up the gulf at certain tides have been the subject of comment by innumerable writers from the *Periplus* to the present day. The danger of ships being stranded by the sudden retirement of the water in the shallower parts of the gulf has become greater in modern times owing to the greater draught of ships, and ocean-going boats have practically abandoned the gulf ports. Sūrat, which is not subject to the full force of these tides, profited at the expense of Cambay and Bharōch, and Bombay at the expense of Sūrat.

A few of the more important references are given below.

The *Periplus*, Sec. 45. See also Sc. ofi's Note on p. 183 of his edition, *Mas'ūdī*, 915 A.D. Sprenger's translation, p. 278. "I saw a curious phenomenon in the country of Kanbāyat in India.

The ebb is so marked in this estuary that the sand lies quite bare, and only in the middle of the bed remains a little water. I saw a dog on this sand, which was left dry by the water like the sand of a desert; the tide coming in from the sea like a mountain caught him, although he ran as fast as he could to the land to escape, and the poor animal was drowned, notwithstanding his swiftness."

He goes on to note a similar phenomenon in the estuary of the Shatt-ū'l-'Arab.

Ibn Baṭūṭa, Defrémery's ed., iv, 53.

De Barros, *Dec. II*, Bk. ii, Cap. 9. "The Macareos (Bores) of the Gulf of Cambaya in which many ships are lost."

The word "Macareo" seems to be identical with the French "Mascaret" used for the bore in the Seine.

Varthema, p. 105 (with an interesting note by Badger, who points out Varthema's error in supposing that the tides in the Gulf of Cambay increased with the waning moon). The observations of Capt. Ethersey, Indian Navy (quoted in the same note), show that the highest tides occur about two days after new or full moon.

Pietro della Valle (English ed. 1665, p. 33) says on this point:

"When the sea is at its lowest ebb; which if I mistake not, in all other places of the world is wont to be when the moon is either rising or setting in the horizon; as on the contrary, when the moon is in the middle of Heaven, the Tide uses to be at the highest. But in the Gulph of *Cambaya*, I know not upon what reason, perhaps because 'tis much within the Land, and far from the great mass of the Ocean, it happens at another different hour, yet well known to the country people."

On p. 32 also he says (speaking of the estuary of the River Mahī),

"In which place the flux and reflux of the sea is more impetuous and violent, and with a more rapid current, then perhaps in any other part of the world."

Forbes in his *Rās Mālā* gives a vivid description of the bore, I, 319.

Other quotations are given in Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., §v. Macareo.

is a flowing tide it flows so strongly that they say a man running at full speed cannot escape it." So that ships which would go in there must take country pilots, who know how to stay in hollows and other places known to them when the tide ebbs, otherwise many are left stranded on rocks, where they are lost.

§ 57. THE FAIR CITY OF CAMBAYA.

ENTERING by Guindarim, which is within on the river, there is a great and fair city called Cambaya¹ in

¹ Cambaya, now generally known by its shortened name Cambay, is supposed to be derived from an original form Khambāwati, but the earliest literary form in which it is known to us is that found in the Arab chroniclers, i.e., Kanbāyah or Kinbāyah, often written and pronounced Kanbāyat. This is the form which is found on the coins of the Mughal Emperors. The name of the town was in the Middle Ages used among sailors and merchants also for the country of which it was the principal port, and from them the Portuguese learned to speak of the "great Kingdom of Cambaya."

Cambay is situated at the head of the gulf of the same name on the peninsula between the Sābarmati and Mahi rivers, and lies on the north-west side of the Mahi estuary. The Mahi was mistaken for one of the mouths of the Indus by some early travellers, Varthema for instance (*Travels*, p. 105), a mistake which Pietro della Valle calls "a grievous error," and refutes as follows:

"In almost all the Mapps which hitherto I have seen, the River Indus is always describ'd falling into the Sea at the inmost recess of the Gulph of *Cambaia*; which is a grievous error, and as wide from truth as the whole Country of *Guzarat* is broad (and 'tis no narrow one): for *Indus*, which is discharged into the sea with two very large mouths, sufficiently distant, runs not on the East of *Guzarat* as it should do if it enter'd into the Sea at the Gulph of *Cambaia*; but rather on the West, and so far from the Gulph of *Cambaia*, that all *Guzarat*, and perhaps some other countries lye between. Wherefore the River which disembogues in the inmost part of this Gulph, is not *Indus*, but this *Mehi* which I speak of, a River of handsome but ordinary greatness, and hath not the least correspondence with *Indus*."

Barbosa did not make this mistake, and although he does not name the river he does not in any way confuse it with the Indus, yet Ribero in his celebrated map of 1529 shows the Indus as falling into the Gulf of Cambay.

The earliest Arabic writer to mention Kanbāyat was Mas'ūdī about 943 A.D. (Sprenger's translation, p. 281), followed shortly after by Istakhri (951 A.D.) who says that the country from Kanbāyah to Saimūr (i.e., Chāul, q.v.) belonged to the Balharā, that is, to the Valabhi-Raja. Ibn Haukal, who copied Istakhri, gives a map in which Kanbāyah is shown (976 A.D.). This is reproduced in Raverty's

which dwell both Moors and Heathen. Therein are many fair houses, very lofty, with windows and roofed with tiles in our manner, well laid out with streets

"Mihrān of Sind" (J.A.S.B. 1892), and also in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, I, 32. Strangely Alberūnī (about 1000 A.D.) who mentions Anhilwāra and Bharōch does not name Kanbāya (*Alberūnī*, I, 205).

Iḍrīsī (1154 A.D.) mentions it as a port with a considerable trade (*Iḍrīsī*, I, 17). He also adds that it was fortified, to defend it from attacks by sea proceeding from the Isle of Kish. (See pp. 79-80.)

Ibn Baṭūṭa speaks of its merchants and trade in the early part of the fourteenth century, and spells the name Kinbāyah, contrary to the pronunciation indicated in the other Arab writers (*I.B.*, iv. 53). He approached it by land, and not, like most other travellers, from the sea. His visit took place shortly after the Muhammadan conquest under 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī, Sultān of Delhi in 1298 A.D. The historian Wassāf, who records this conquest, speaks with enthusiasm of the beauty, wealth and salubrity of Kanbāyah, and the enormous number of prisoners and the amount of booty taken there (Wassāf's *Taziyatu'l-Amsār*, translated in *Elliot and Dowson*, Vol. III).

Marco Polo, who was a contemporary of Ibn Baṭūṭa and Wassāf, also speaks of its trade and prosperity. His visit must have taken place before the Mūsalmān conquest, as he speaks of it as still heathen. He gives the name as Cambact (*Marco Polo*, Yule and Cordier, II, 397).

Conti, early in the fifteenth century, speaks of Cambay as "a very noble city; situated in the second gulf after having passed the mouth of the Indus," which shows that he did not share the delusion that the Mahi River was the Indus. Nikitin calls it "a port of the whole India sea, and a manufacturing place for every sort of goods." H. di Sante Stefano was landed there after being wrecked and found lac and indigo to be its principal products (*India in the Fifteenth Century*, II, 5; III, 19; IV, 9).

The Portuguese, when they began to make their way along the coast of East Africa, found that all the trade of the ports they touched at was connected with the "Great Kingdom of Cambaya." They never got possession of Cambay itself, but were satisfied with their island fortress of Diu and their factories at Daman, Bassein and Chaul for their dealings with the Gujarāt kingdom.

After the annexation of this kingdom by the Mughal Emperors it continued to be a principal port. The Emperor Jahāngir visited it and described it in his autobiography. He claims to have made it a mint for gold and silver, but no coins of this mint are known before the time of his son, Shāh Jahān, after which the coinage continued until the reign of 'Alamgir II, when the mint was closed during the ravages of the Marāṭhas.

Interesting accounts of Cambay are given by Linschoten at the end of the sixteenth century (*Linschoten, Voyage*, I, 59), and by Pietro della Valle at a rather later period, with occasional allusions by other travellers. It was a great Jain centre and the hospitals for animals attracted the attention of many travellers, among them the Venetian Manucci (*Storia del Mogor*, trans. Irvine, I, 156).

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Cambay suffered much from the raids of the Marāṭhas, but the last Mughal governor, Mōmin Khān, succeeded in holding the town against them, and his successor is still Nawwāb under British suzerainty.

and fine open places, and great buildings of stone and mortar. It lies in a pleasant district, rich in supplies, and in the city dwell substantial merchants and men of great fortune, both Moors and Heathen. There are also many craftsmen of mechanic trades in cunning work of many kinds, as in Flanders; and everything good cheap. Here are woven white cotton fabrics both fine and coarse, and others printed in patterns; also much silk cloth and coloured velvets of poor quality, velvety satins and taffeties, also thick carpets. The people of this land are almost white, both men and women. Many foreigners sojourn here, and they are quite white. This race is a people of great culture, accustomed to good clothing, leading a luxurious life, given to pleasure and vice. They feed well, and their custom is always to wash and anoint themselves with sweet-smelling unguents. They always, men and women alike, wear in their hair jasmine flowers or others which grow there. They are great musicians in many modes of playing and singing. Chariots drawn by oxen or horses continually go about the city, and these they use for carrying things of all sorts, and other there are with good wooden couches, closed and covered like rooms, with well-wrought joinery work and with windows adorned and decorated with silk hangings [and some with gilded leather, and inside these they have silken mattresses, counterpanes and cushions, very rich]. As drivers they employ trustworthy men well known to them; thus they take the women to games or entertainments or to visit their friends, without anyone seeing or knowing who is inside; and those within go playing and singing and doing as they please. The dwellers in this city have many vegetable and fruit

gardens and orchards, which they use for their pleasures, and thence they obtain plenty of fruit and vegetables, which are the principal food of the Heathen, for they eat nothing which has been killed. A great quantity of ivory is used here in very cunning work, inlaid and turned articles such as bracelets (bangles), sword-hilts, dice, chessmen and chess-boards; for there are many skilful turners who make all these, also many ivory bedsteads very cunningly turned, beads of sundry kinds, black, yellow, blue and red and many other colours, which are carried hence to many other places. Here too are many workers in stones, and makers of false stones and pearls of divers sorts which appear to be real; also very good goldsmiths who do very fine work. They also make here very beautiful quilts and testers of beds finely worked and painted and quilted articles of dress. There are many Moorish washerwomen who do very fine and cunning work. A great amount of work is also done here in coral, alaquequas (carnelians) and other stones; so that in this city the best workmen in every kind of work are found.

§ 58. LIMADURA.

BEYOND this city of Cambaya, further inland is a town called Limadura.¹ Here is found an *alaquequa*

¹ I was assisted in the identification of Limadura by my friend, Mr. W. W. Smart, I.C.S., who is in charge of the Godhra Agency. He drew my attention to the following extract from the Geological Survey of India. The place is undoubtedly Limōdara, which is close to Ratanpur in the Rājpipla State. It is on the banks of the Narbada, which is navigable from Bharōch.

EXTRACTS FROM RECORDS OF THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA,
Volume XXXVII, Part 2, 1908, pp. 176-177.

"The carnelian mines of Ratanpur in Jhagadia taluka have long been celebrated. The first authentic reference to them, however, does not appear to date earlier than the commencement of the sixteenth

(carnelian) rock,¹ which is a white, milky or red stone, which is made much redder in the fire. They extract it in large pieces, and there are cunning craftsmen here who shape it, bore it and make it up in divers fashions, that is to say; long, eight-sided, round and olive-leaf

century. The 'Carnelian hills seventy miles from Cambay' referred to by Varthema (A.D. 1503-1508) can be no other than those in the vicinity of Ratanpur. About this time, according to a tradition of the lapidaries of Cambay, an Abyssinian merchant named Bawaghor established a carnelian factory at Limodra (or Nimodra).^{*} At first the stones were prepared by Mahommedans, but the Hindus soon took to the craft. The merchant died at Limodra, and a shrine was raised to his honour on a hill close to the carnelian mines now well known as the Bawaghor hill. 'The Sidi (Abyssinian) merchant,' says the writer of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, 'is still remembered by the Hindu agate workers. Each year on the day of his death Shrawan Sud Punima (July to August full moon) they offer flowers and cocoanuts at his tomb. As it is far to go from Cambay to Bawaghor, they have in Cambay a cenotaph *takiya* in his honour, and those of them who are settled in Bombay have brought with them this memorial of the founder of their craft. The Cambay agate workers assert that the well-known shrine of Bawaghor was raised in honour of their patron. According to their story, while wandering from place to place as a religious beggar, the Bhawa did business in precious stones, and becoming skilled in agates, set up a factory in Nimodra (Limodra). Here he prospered and died rich.' Limodra appears to have continued to be the principal seat of the carnelian industry during the sixteenth century. According to Barbosa (1514) the stones were polished and worked there into rings, buttons, beads, etc., and merchants from Cambay used to come to Limodra to buy them. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the seat of the carnelian industry appears to have been transferred from Limodra to Cambay. Henceforth only the preliminary operations of sorting the stones and exposing them to fire to develop the colour were performed at Limodra. They were then taken to Cambay to be cut, polished and worked up."

¹ For *alaquequa* see § 56, p. 137, n. 1; also *babagoure* below in p. 144, n. 3.

^{*} *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. VI (1880), p. 206. According to the writer of the *Gazetteer* the factory was established at Nandod. I have but little doubt, however, that the place was Limodra. Nandod is twenty-two miles (as the crow flies) eastward from the mines. In the beginning of the sixteenth century it was a place of no great importance, and there is no tradition of the existence of a carnelian or, indeed, of any other industry of importance there: Limodra on the other hand was within four miles of the mines. Its ruins testify to its having been a place of great importance as early as the beginning of the eleventh century, and inscriptions on the footstool of an image of Rikhadevji found there are dated Sambat 1126 (A.D. 1004). Barbosa (1514) refers to Limodra as the headquarters of the carnelian industry. Even now the preliminary operations of sorting and exposing the stones to fire to develop their colour are carried on there.—W. W. SMART.

shapes, also rings, knobs for hilts of short swords¹ and daggers, and other ways. The dealers come hither from Cambaya to buy them, and they [thread them, and²] sell them on the Red Sea coast whence they pass to our lands by way of Cairo and Alexandria. They take them also to Arabia and Persia, and to India where our people buy them to take to Portugal. And here they find great abundance of *babagoure*.³

¹ The Portuguese is "*Cabos de tresados e adaguas*." For *tresados* I read *terça los* "short swords," as no such word as *tresados* is known. The translation of the Spanish version has "buttons" and Ramusio "bottoni." The "cabo" is the round knob at the top of the hilt of many swords and daggers; and this was perhaps taken for "buttons" by the Spanish and Italian translators.

² The words *thread them* and are not in the Portuguese text, but I have inserted them from Ramusio. Lord Stanley reads "harden them," and has the following note. [This word is very clearly *enyerlan*, which is an old word meaning to freeze, to congeal, to make *yerto*—"hard"; so that this stone would be like the Chinese soap-stone which is soft and easily carved when first extracted. *Ensarlan* would apply, meaning to string beads, but the writing does not admit of it.]

Nevertheless it seems probable that this was the correct reading, as it corresponds with Ramusio's *l'infilzano*, "thread them." Besides, silicon gems such as carnelians, sards, chalcedony, onyx, etc., are naturally hard, and require no artificial hardening.

³ *Babagoure* is, as already explained, the white variety, probably correctly designated chalcedony by Barbosa. These white stones are called *Bābāghōrī* after the name of a local godling worshipped by the miners. This shrine appears to have been erected in honour of a Sīdī or Abyssinian named Bābā Ghōr who is stated to have been the introducer of agate mining at Limodara. See the quotation from the Records of the Geological Survey given above (p. 142, n. 1).

The worship of Bāwa Ghōr or Bābā Ghōr is however not confined to this locality, but is widely spread. He is worshipped by the Sīdīs or Abyssinians of Janjira and elsewhere (see Russell, *Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces*, I, 409), and a divinity named Gōr-Bābā is honoured by many aboriginal tribes, and is often identified with Siva and called Gōrēsvara (Crooke, *Popular Religions of India*, I, 84). As the Bhils are numerous in this neighbourhood, it is impossible not to suspect that the aboriginal godling has a share in the honours paid to the Abyssinian saint. Mr. Russell (*Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces*, II, 289) has noted the devotion shown by the Bhils to white objects. *Gōrā* in Hindī means "white," the Bhils will eat nothing white in colour, and their oath is by the white ram. May not this white stone, the bābā-ghōrī, have been originally a totemic object? As the miners who visit the shrine are now mainly Hindus and not Musalmāns, there seems a further possibility of this shrine being an old one.

Dr. Watt says about these stones: "The onyx, cat's-eye and yellow half-clear pebbles called *rori* are used in their natural colour. The

which we call *calsadonia* (chalcedony), which are stones with grey and white veins in them, which they fashion perfectly round, and after they are bored the Moors wear them on their arms in such a manner that they touch the skin, saying that they are good to preserve chastity: as these stones are plentiful they are not worth much.

§ 59. REYNEL.

COMING forth from this town of Limadura, and returning to those with havens on the sea, and going beyond Guindarim further along the coast, there is a river on the hither side of which stands a Moorish town named Reynel,¹ wherein are very fair houses and open places.

others are burnt in dung fires to improve their colours." This corroborates Barbosa's remark about the red stones being made redder in the fire.

Dr. Watt also says: "The stone is from the amygdaloidal flow of the Deccan trap, chiefly from the State of Rājpipla."

The *Periplus* mentions agates and carnelians as among the products of this neighbourhood.

ὄνυχιν λίθια καὶ μονόρρινον, Schoff's *Periplus*, § 6 and § 49 (pp. 68, 193).

The mention by Barbosa shows that the name *bābāghōri* for the stone was already well established by the beginning of the sixteenth century. This appears to be the earliest allusion to it. Other early instances of its use are given by Sir H. Yule s.v. Babagoorec in *Hobson-Johnson*. One of these of 1590 from the *Ain-i-Akbari* shows that these stones were used as weights by Akbar.

¹ Reynel is the modern Randēr, which is on the north side of the Tāpti estuary, a little way above Sūrat. Ravel is the spelling in the Spanish version, in Ramusio, and apparently in Ribero's map, although the middle letter is indistinct. Ortelius has the same spelling. In Lavanha's map of Guzerate (reproduced in this Vol., p. 108) the town is correctly shown on the Tāpti River, and spelt Reiner. The Mirāt-i-Sikandari (1611 A.D.) alludes to Rānēr and Sūrat as under the rule of Masti Khān who joined Modūd, a claimant to the throne of Gūjarāt in 1410 A.D. (Bayley's *Hist. of Gujarat*, p. 89). De Barros (*IV*, iv. 8) spells the name Reiner, and the modern Randēr is found in the early eighteenth century in the *Chahār Gulshan*, quoted in Sarkār's *India of Aurangzeb*, p. 139.

De Barros (*l.c.*) describes the raid on Sūrat and Reiner in 1530 by Antônio da Silveira, who sailed up the Tāpti and destroyed both places. His account of Reiner fully bears out the glowing description given by Barbosa. The town was rich and was accustomed to trade with Mecca and Tenassarim; it was defended by a warlike Muhammadan

It is a very pleasant and wealthy place, for the Moorish inhabitants thereof trade in their own ships with Malaca, Benguala, Camarasym¹ and Peguu, also to Martabam and Çamatra, in spices of divers sorts and drugs and silks in great abundance, musk, benzoin, porcelain and many other wares. Those who dwell here have many great and fair vessels, which carry on this trade, and whosoever would have at his disposal things from Malaca and China,² let him go to this place, where he will find them in greater perfection than in

race called Naites (Navāyats, see § 78 note), whereas Sūrat was in every way inferior, and its Banyan inhabitants attempted no defence.

Reiner was sacked and burnt apparently for no good cause, and the historian regrets that such destruction should be wrought even in war (De Barrios, *l.c.*, p. 215). These events are not alluded to by Mr. Whiteway in his *Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*.

Randēr never seems to have recovered from this stroke. Sūrat with its Banyān population soon was again an important trade centre, and most travellers who visited it do not even mention Randēr. The few passing notices show the state of decay it had fallen into.

Mandelslo in 1638 (English translation, 1669, p. 17) says that some Dutch and English merchants of Sūrat "brought me to an old ruin'd city called Reniel, where the Dutch have a warehouse. The inhabitants of this city are called Naites and are for the most part either Mariners or Tradesmen, and of the Muhametan Religion. The streets of it are narrow." Peter Mundy 1629-30) says, "Places adjoining (Sūrat) are Raneile on the other side of the River, a pleasant situation" (*Travels*, Ed. Sir R. Temple, Vol. II, p. 33). Fryer also says "Ro Neal a mile beyond it on the Swally Side (*i.e.*, north of the Tāpti) was once before it, now abandoned to Seamen and Washermen" (Ed. Crooke, Vol. I, p. 301, and note).

Thevenot mentions that at a wedding which he saw lights were floated down the Tāpti from "Renelle" on the ebb-tide, and describes it as "an old town about a quarter of a league distant from Surrat. It stands on the other side of the Tāpti, and though it daily fall into ruin, yet the Dutch have a very good Magazin there" (English trans. 1687, Part III., p. 23).

Rennell's Map of 1782 shows "Randere" in its proper position.

¹ For the name Camarasym, no doubt Tanasarim should be read; its mention jointly with Pegu shows that Tenasserim is intended. The Spanish version has Tervasery, Ramusio Ternasari.

² The concentration of trade with China and Malacca in this place is remarkable. The merchants of Randēr were evidently persons of culture, and Barbosa's picture of the reception rooms of the Musalman houses, surrounded by shelves on which rich collections of Chinese porcelain were exhibited, is an unexpected occurrence of the china-mania in the early sixteenth century. The aimless and barbarous destruction of this unique and attractive spot by Silveira is a blot on the Portuguese power in India.

any other place soever. The Moors¹ who dwell here are wealthy and distinguished, fair in colour and of gentle birth. They go well attired, their women are beautiful and they have good houses well kept and furnished.² They use, in the front room of their

¹ These "Moors" were evidently of a different race to the bulk of the Muhammadān population, and it is clear from various sources that they were the "Naites" of De Barros who defended the place so bravely in 1530. The local account of these people is given in Mr. Narmadashankar's vernacular *History of Sūrat*, Ch. 2 of which is devoted to Randēr. A translation of this chapter I owe to the kindness of Mr. W. W. Smart, I.C.S. (see appendix B).

The author puts down the origin of this sect to a branch of the 'Abbāsī Khalīfahs living at Kūfa in the year 750 A.D., known as "Malik Momins," who were good sailors, and being apparently Shī'as, were persecuted by the Orthodox Sunnis, and settled as merchants at Randēr, where they became known as Navāyatās or Nāyatās. This name is with some probability explained as meaning "new-comers," from the Sanskrit *nava-āyāta*. These Momins were persecuted by the Jains, but defended themselves and ultimately became rulers of the place. The author gives the date on one of their mosques still existing as A.H. 641 (A.D. 1225).

He relates a tale of the period of the Emperor Jahāngīr, and dates the decay of the Momins or Navāyatās to an improper request made by their leader to the Emperor. Their wealth and prosperity which had been very great began to decline from that period, and of the ruling family one old man, a sailor, now exists.

The writer adds that the Nawwābs of Sūrat began to rule over Randēr from the day on which Sūrat fell into their hands, and that the Firangīs (i.e. the Portuguese) never entered Randēr.

The destruction of the place by Silveira in 1530 shows that this is a mistake. The decay of Randēr may certainly be referred to that event, rather than to any other.

The Naites or Navāyatās were however not confined to Randēr, but are found at other parts of the West Coast of India, especially in North Kanara, where they formed an important community at Honāwar and Bhatkal (*Bombay Gazetteer*, 1911). Here local legend represents them as Sunnī refugees expelled by Shī'as from Persia in the eighth century, instead of the reverse as stated at Randēr. The Muhammadan ruler of Honāwar visited by Ibn Batūta seems to have been of this race, and he was certainly a Sunnī. These people were expelled by the Hindūs of Vijayanagar in 1479 A.D. according to De Barros. (He gives the *hijrī* date as 917, which is certainly wrong, as this would have been A.D. 1511, after the Portuguese were on the coast and in possession of Goa.)

They took refuge in Goa under the protection of the 'Ādilshāhī rulers, and evidently spread further up the coast. It is possible that the mosque founded in A.H. 641 at Randēr is not really to be attributed to them, but to an earlier Musalmān settlement, and that the Randēr Navāyatās were a branch of those expelled from Honāwar and Bhatkal. See § 78, p. 187, n. 1.

² The word here used for "furnished" is *alfaiadas*, the verb being formed from *alfaiā* "furniture," which is evidently, from its form, of

houses, to have many shelves all round, the whole room being surrounded by them as in a shop, all filled with fair and rich porcelain of new styles. The women are not shut up as elsewhere among the Moors, but go forth of their houses much in the daytime, doing whatsoever business they have in hand, with their faces uncovered, as among us.

§ 60. ÇURATE.

GOING on and passing the Reynel river¹, on the further bank is the city of Çurate,² inhabited by Moors and

Arabic origin. It is not however given in Dozy and Engelmann's *Glossaire*, and I am unable to suggest any Arabic word from which it may be derived.

The word in the Spanish version is *axuar*, which Lord Stanley explains as "the household furniture which a wife has to bring to her husband on her marriage." Cf. Portuguese *enxoval*, "a bride's trousseau."

¹ The Spanish version here, instead of Barbosa's accurate statement that Surat is on the other bank of the river on which Randēr stands, has the following: "Having passed this river of Ravel, at twenty leagues to the south is a city called Surat at the mouth of a river." A more perfect specimen of the blundering of an ignorant translator it would be hard to find. He inserts the distances between each port and the preceding one quite at random, generally twenty leagues.

² The name of Sūrat is spelt in various ways. Our author's Çurate becomes Surati in the Spanish version, and Ramusio corrupts it into Cinati. The name is undoubtedly derived from the country of Saurāshtra which included both shores of the Gulf of Cambay, but it is impossible to identify the town of Surat with Ptolemy's Syrastra, nor with the Syrastrēnē of the *Periplus*, both of which refer to the country in Kāthiāwār now called Sōrath (p. 127, n. 2).

In any case Sūrat had only lately grown into importance at the time of the Portuguese entry on the scene, and was still, as shown above on p. 145, n. 1, inferior in position to Randēr, and it was not till the destruction of that city that the great progress of Sūrat came about. After it had become the headquarters of the English and Dutch Companies, most European travellers to the East landed there, and consequently it has been more fully described perhaps than any other place in India.

Reference may be made to the very full article under Surat in Mr. Crooke's edition of *Hobson-Jobson*, where a number of interesting quotations will be found. The following are also of interest:

Pietro della Valle, Eng. trans. 1665, pp. 12-24. He writes the name thus, Surāt, which shows that the fashion of accenting it on the last syllable, now common, had already set in.

Peter Mundy (Ed. Sir R. Temple, H.S., pp. 25-32). He spells the name Suratt, also showing the accent on the last syllable.

situated on the river. Here they deal in many commodities, in which there is much trade. Hither sail ships in great numbers from Malabar and other parts, where they sell what they bring and take back what they want, as this is a great port for traffic, and there are here many substantial merchants, as well Moors as Heathen (for they also dwell here). The divan,¹ that is to say the custom-house, brings in yearly a great sum of money to the King of Cambaya. Hitherto a Heathen named Milocoxim² held sway and governed here, whom the king of Cambay ordered to be slain³

N. Manucci (*Storia do Mogor*, Ed. W. Irvine), I, 61 f., and many other notices.

Dr. J. Fryer: *East India and Persia*, 1698, Ed. W. Crooke, H.S. Vol. I, pp. 229-302. A very full description. He notes the rapid rise of Surat. The attack by the Mahratta leader Sivaji in 1664 is also alluded to. The town was plundered, but the English and Dutch defended themselves successfully.

¹ *Divan* or custom-house. (Read *divana* for *deniva*, which is evidently a transcriber's error). [The writer had forgotten that *adua* (custom-house) and *divan* are the same word.—St.]

Considering, however, that the Spanish version on which this note was made was translated from the Portuguese, in which the word for custom-house is not *adua* but *alfandega*, this is not astonishing. With equal reason the same might have been said of Ramusio who here says "Costoro chiaman la dogana Divana," for *dogana* like *douane* stands for *dūwān*, while *adua* is *ad-dūwān*. *Alfandega* is, according to Dozy, the Ar. *al-junduq*, inn, from which undoubtedly the Sp. *fonda* is derived. (see *Glossaire*, s.v. *Alhondiga*) ; but it is worth considering whether it should not rather be *al-khandak*, the ditch or moat around a town, where the customs or octroi barriers were erected. The Arabic guttural *kh* is generally represented by *f* in Portuguese. *Funduq* means an inn or merchant's rest-house, but not a custom-house, nor does the Spanish *fonda* bear that meaning.

² Milocoxim should no doubt be read Milogopim, the man named Milecupi in the *Commentaries* (IV, 60 ff.) and Melique Gupi by De Barros (*II*, ii, 9). He seems to have been a leading Hindu who had received the title of Malik. His name was probably Gōpī-Nāth. He pretended friendship for the Portuguese out of envy against and rivalry with Malik 'Ayyāz, whose position he wished to obtain. He is spoken of in connection with both Bharōch and Sūrat, and his influence apparently extended along the east coast of the Gulf of Cambay.

³ Lord Stanley's translation reverses this section, and says that "he gave orders to kill the King of Guzerat," and not, as in the text, that the King ordered him to be killed. So also in Ramusio, who has "*fecce ammazzar il Rè di Guzerati*."

on account of the evil reports he received of him. This man was a great friend of the Portuguese.

§ 61. DINUY.

BEYOND this city of Çurate, continuing along the coast there is a very good town called Dinuy¹ inhabited by both Moors and Heathen, which also has a great

¹The name Dinuy or Dinvy is given as Denvy or Denby in the Spanish version and as Deby in Ramusio. The name is evidently corrupt, and from the position between Surat and Bassein there can be no doubt that it is some place on the navigable estuary of the Dāmāngā on which Dāmān is situated. The map by João Baptista Lavanha reproduced in this volume (facing p. 108) shows a place called Danu on the south side of the estuary opposite Dāmān, which is here denoted by the name Dinuy.

Denvy is shown in Ribero's map (1529) and Danū in Dourado's map of 1570 as well as Baçaim. Also De Barros, *IV*, iv, Ch. 23, f. 260 (in 1533). "The Governor (Nuno da Cunha) having arrived in front of a place called Danu heard that the king of Cambay had passed the day before with nine galleys to Dio." He was on his way from Bassein to Dio; so this is evidently the Danu of the maps.

Dāmān does not appear to be a place of great antiquity. It was evidently of little importance in Barbosa's time as he does not mention it, alluding only to the place which he calls Dinuy, on the other side of the estuary. The Portuguese took it in 1531, and again in 1534, while Nuno da Cunha was Governor. By its capture they were able to obtain the surrender of Bassein from Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt but did not keep Dāmān. These events are described in detail by De Barros (*Dec. IV*, Bk. iv, Ch. 9 and 27). It was finally taken possession of by the Portuguese in 1559 when D. Constantino, Duke of Bragança, was Viceroy, and is one of the places in India which they still retain. It is still a port for coasting traffic, and is noted for its shipbuilding.

Ralph Fitch touched at Dāmān in 1584 on his way from Diu to Bassein, and speaks of it as trading only in "corne and rice" (*Ralph Fitch*, p. 58).

Linschoten (*I*, 62) after finishing his description of the kingdom of Cambaia says that at this point "on the firme land standeth the towne and fortesse of Daman which is inhabited by the Portugallas, and under their subjection. . . . Now you must understand that this coast of India beginneth at Daman, or the Island Das Vaguas *i.e.*, Vaquas or Vaccas) and stretcheth South and by East to the Cape of Comoriin." This definite boundary of India corresponds with that adopted by Barbosa, who consistently speaks of the Gujarāt kingdom as distinct from India. It may be noted, however, that the Ilhas das Vaccas are not at this point, but opposite the Vaitarani River, north of Bassein Island. The modern name is Arnalla Island (see the map in J. G. Da Cunha's *History of Chaul and Bassein*). Ribero's map (1529) shows *Yas das Uacas* off the coast near Baçaim.

trade in goods of many kinds Thither sail many ships from Malabar and other parts.

§ 62. BAXAY.

FURTHER along the coast after leaving Dinuy is another town which they call Baxay¹, where both Moors and Heathen dwell, a very good harbour also pertaining to the kingdom of Guzarate. It has great sea trade, and there is traffic in wares of divers kinds. Many Malabar ships come hither with cargos of areca, cocoa-nuts, spices, and other goods, and take hence other things which are wanted in Malabar.

¹ Baxay is a form of the name closer to the local form Vasāi or "settlement" than either the Portuguese later form Baçaim or the modern Bassein. Ramusio has Vaxay. Ribero's map shows *Bacain*, with *Y. das Uacas* near by. It was ceded to Portugal by Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt after the taking of Dāmān recorded in the notes on § 61, in the year 1534. It had already once been plundered by the Portuguese under Eitor da Silveira in 1529, and was taken in 1532.

Bassein is on the north bank of the Bassein River, that is the creek which runs inland as far as Thānā, and thence runs southward, again meeting the sea south of the island of Salsette on which Bombay stands. Another creek runs northward behind Bassein as far as the Vaitarani River, thus forming the Bassein territory into a long island. Although these creeks were well known to early travellers and especially to the Arab sailors, the only place frequently mentioned is Thānā. There is no name which can be clearly associated with Bassein. The Portuguese made it one of their principal settlements and built a fine fort with many churches and monasteries, several of which are standing, though ruinous. One of these, the Church of St. Antony, dates from 1537. Some account of these buildings with plates is given in the Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1913-14. A very full account of the history and antiquities of Bassein has been given by Dr. Gerson da Cunha in his volume *History of Chaul and Bassein*, Bombay, 1876, which contains illustrations of many of the principal Portuguese buildings. Also see *Bombay Gazetteer*, xiv, 28 ff.

It was for long a most important and prosperous place, but showed signs of decay at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, and finally, after a heroic resistance, was taken by the Marāthas in 1739, and was ultimately annexed by the English in 1818.

One of the best descriptions of Bassein in its prime is that given by Fryer, I, 190 ff. (H.S.), who sailed up the creek from Bombay passing Thānā, and was much struck by the number of "delicate country-mansions" he saw on the banks.

Garcia de Orta in his *Colloquies* (p. 443) gives an account of Bassein as he knew it about from 1534 to 1554. He considered it a great city and more important than Diu. It included lands called Manora, and at least part of the Island of Salsette.

§ 63. TANA-MAJAMBU.

ALONG the coast beyond Baxay is a fort belonging to the king of Guzerate, which they call Tana-Majambu¹; around which lies a very fine Moorish town, with

¹ Tana-Majambu, in the printed text Bana-majambu, and Benamajambu in the heading of the section. The Spanish version has Tanamayambu and Ramusio the same. There can be no doubt that Tana represents the celebrated seaport of Thāna at the head of the creek which surrounds the island of Salsette. The text here seems corrupt in many places.

The second part of the name, Majambu or Mayambu, is not so easily explained. Sir H. Yule in *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Tana, quotes this passage, adding "Tana-Mayambu, (this is perhaps rather Bombay)." No doubt it refers to places on the Island of Salsette, of which Mahim seems the most probable. See also Yule's note in *Marco Polo* (Y. and C., II, 396). There are few mentions of Bombay at this period, and such as there are refer to it as an island only, and not as a town (Correa, I, 926, 927). The quotation given in *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Bombay, under 1507 from the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* cannot be considered as of any value, as this is a late eighteenth century compilation. The *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, a better authority, in its account of the same events, reads "Mahāim" and not "Manbai" (Bayley's *Hist. of Gujarāt*, p. 222).

The quotation in *Hobson-Jobson* from the Tombo do Estado is wrongly dated 1525. This work dates from 1554, and the quotation on pp. 160 to 161 belongs to the year 1549-50 shown on p. 158. There is a mention of "Monbaym" as early as 1535 on p. 139 of the same work.

The following passage, which is a quotation from Do Couto given in the 1615 Ed. of the 4th Dec. of De Barros, Bk. iv, Ch. 22, is worth quoting in this connection. The events relate to the year 1532 under the Governorship of Nuno da Cunha:

"Manoel de Albuquerque having left Damam went burning and laying waste all the towns from Baçaim to Taraphor, (i.e., from S. to N. of the Bassein I.), taking many ships and much goods; and turning back he entered the Bombaim river, touching at some spots on the I. of Salcete which had already begun to be inhabited again. And in order that this destruction might not continue, each of the Tanadares thereof offered him four hundred pardaos as tribute, paying down at once the money for that year; and those of Tanā, Bāndorā, Maj and Bombaim did the same."

Here the towns on the southern end of Salsette and on Mahim I. (at that time separate) are spoken of in a group together with Thāna. Possibly Barbosa had heard *Thāna-Mai-Munbai* spoken of together in this way, which might easily give rise to such a form as Tanamayambu. The fact that this region "had begun to be inhabited again," probably refers to the earlier ravages of Eitor da Silveira in 1528.

Thāna was a considerable port, known from early times to the Arab traders.

Mas'ūdī (946 A.D.) names it in a list of places on the Sea of Lād or Gujarāt (i.e. p. 346).

Subāra, mentioned in the same list, is no doubt Supāra on the creek separating Bassein I. from the mainland.

Idrisī (about 1150 A.D.) alludes to it as Tānah (misread *Bānah* in Jaubert's translation, I, 179), and describes it as a flourishing port. Ibn

many gardens.¹ Here there are many mosques of the Moors and Houses of prayer of the Heathen. And this place is almost at the boundary of the kingdom of Cambaya, and has a right good haven, with a fair trade. Here dwell many pirates,² small ships called *atalayas*, which go out to sea, and, finding some small vessel, board it, take it and rob it, and sometimes slaughter the crew.

Batūta (*circ.* 1320 A.D.), though he did not visit it himself, knew its name well, and includes it in a list of ports trading with Aden (II, 177).

Yule and Cordier (*Marco Polo*, II, 396) say Ibn Batūta calls it Kūkin Tāna, but this does not appear in the text of Defrémery, II, 177. "Min Kinbāyat wa Tāna wa Kawlam." J. G. Da Cunha also asserts this (*History of Chaul and Bassein*, p. 169).

Albēruṇī (*circ.* 1000 A.D.) alludes to "the province of Kunkan and its capital Tāna on the sea coast" (Sachau's *Albēruṇī's India*, I, 203).

The allusions to it by European travellers begin with *Marco Polo*, Bk. III, Ch. 27, who speaks of the "Kingdom of Tāna," nōdoubt, as Yule points out, the Kōnkan, as Albēruṇī had correctly stated three hundred years before.

For the visits of the Friars Odoric and Jordanus, the supposed martyrdom of the latter and the martyrdom of four Franciscan friars, reference should be made to *Cathay* (II, 113-5 and III, 75-80) and to J. D. Da Cunha's *History of Chaul and Bassein* (pp. 171-180).

Thāna is in the northern part of the Island of Salsette where the G.I.P. Railway now crosses to the mainland. It was for long a prosperous part of the Portuguese possessions, and was included nominally in the lands ceded to the English on the marriage of Charles II to the Princess Catherine. This was not actually carried out, however, and the Portuguese retained it until it was taken by the Mahrāttas in 1739. The English possession dates from 1774, and Salsette, including Thāna, is coloured red in Rennell's map of 1782.

A full account of the history of Thāna will be found in Dr. J. Gerson Da Cunha's *History of Chaul and Bassein*, pp. 165-188. See also the articles *Tana* and *Salsette* in Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson* (Ed. Crooke, 1903).

¹ The word here translated "gardens" is in the text *ostras* or "oysters," for which no doubt *ortas* or *hortas* should be read. The Spanish version has "gardens," and Ramusio "giardini."

² Marco Polo alludes to the pirates infesting these creeks in very similar terms to those used by Barbosa. "With the King's connivance many corsairs launch from this port to plunder merchants. These corsairs have a covenant with the King that he shall get all the horses they capture and all other plunder shall go to them. . . . This practice is naughty and unworthy of a King."

The allusion to pirates in the *Periplus*, Sec. 53, and in Ptolemy to Ariake (of the Pirates) (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 45) show the prevalence of piracy on the west coast from early times. The far-fetched attempt of Mr. Campbell to show that *ἀνδρῶν κτεριστῶν* does not refer to pirates but to the Āndhrabhṛitya dynasty need not be seriously considered.

§ 64. "END OF THE KINGDOM OF GUZARATE,
AND A SHORT RELATION REGARDING THE
MERCHANDIZE FOUND THEREIN."¹

"HERE cometh to an end the great and wealthy Kingdom of Guzerate and Cambaya, in which are many horses, which they carry hence by way of merchandize to the Kings of India, Arabya and Persya and many cotton muslins,² for veils, and other white and coarse cloths of the same, of which many ships take cargoes to Arabia, Persya, India, Malaca, Çamatra, Melynde, Magadoxo and Mombaça; also other coloured cloths of divers kinds, silk muslins², carnelians,³ gingelly oil, southernwood,⁴ spikenard,⁵ tutenag⁶, borax,⁷ opium, fine indigo in cakes and another coarser kind, as well as many other drugs unknown to us, but held in great esteem in Malaca and

¹ This summary of the productions of Gujarāt, including the coins and weights in use, is not given either in the Spanish version nor in Ramusio.

² COTTON MUSLINS. *Cotonias dalgodam*. The word *cotonia*, originally no doubt applied only to fine cotton fabrics, has here come to mean any fine fabric, as further on we have *cotonias de seda* "silk muslins."

³ CARNELIANS, *alaqueguas*, see § 58, note.

⁴ SOUTHERNWOOD, *Erva lombrigueira*. Vieyrā, s.v. *abrotano*, says "*abrotanum* or southernwood: the vulgar call it *herua lombrigueira*." No doubt the southernwood alluded to was not the European variety *Artemisia abrotanum*, but some other variety of *Artemisia* probably the *Artemisia indica* or Indian wormwood. In Murray and Herman's *Traveller Returns* (1887) bunches of southernwood twigs are alluded to as used in bowls of liquor (vii, 98).

⁵ SPIKENARD. An aromatic drug obtained from the *Nardostachys jatamansi*, a native of the Himalayas. It may be noted that it was one of the exports from Gujarāt in the first century (*Periplus*, § 48). Watt describes it as "an aromatic adjunct in the preparation of medicinal oils" (Watt, l.c., p. 792).

⁶ TUTENAG. *Tulia*, here used, is the older form of the word from the Persian *tātiya*. The later form *tutanaga* is the origin of the English tutenag, a kind of zinc or spelter much used in the East. The Portuguese used it for coins at Goa, a practice followed by the East India Company in the early eighteenth century, in certain coins struck at Bombay.

For quotations as to its use see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Tootnague.

⁷ BORAX. The word used is *tingual*, an adoption from the Persian *tinkār* or *tinkāl* (see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Tincall).

China and of great value, such as *cachopucho*,¹ incense in abundance from Xaer,² abundance of wheat and great millet,³ great store of rice, gingelly, grains,⁴ chick-peas, haricot beans⁵ and many other plants with

¹ CACHOPUCHO. I have not been able to trace this name in any other Portuguese authority, although *cucho* and *pucho* are found as separate words in another portion of this book (under Malacca, § 110). The passage is quoted (from Lord Stanley's version) in *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. Catechu, and *pucho* is alluded to in the same, s.v. Putchook. The Portuguese version (p. 365, Vol. II of 1867 Reprint) says . . . "Many drugs of Cambaya, and one which we do not know, which they call *cacho*, and another which they call *pucho mangiçam*, which are gall-nuts brought from the Levant to Cambaya by way of Meca, and are of much worth in China and Java." Further on the same page he mentions "*cacho* and *pucho*" among the drugs of Cambaya imported at Malacca. *Cacho* is identified by Yule with the Catechu or Cutch (Canarese *Kāchu*, Malay *Kacha*) which is an astringent extract from *Acacia catechu* and other acacias, natives of Northern India. *Pucho* is mentioned as a product of Cambaya by several Portuguese writers, and was identified by Garcia de Orta (*Orta*, p. 149) with the costus of the ancients. It is the fragrant root of the *Saussurea Xappe*, a native of the Kashmir Himalaya. It is possible that these two words are here brought together by Barbosa into one word, but it is not probable, as he has clearly distinguished them in his remarks in § 110, and as they are substances of entirely different natures one from the other. *Pucho* is moreover coupled with a third word *Mangiçam*, which is not given as a third article as it is represented in the Spanish text and Ramusio. as more probable explanation of the word *cachopucho* is that it is an early mention of the aromatic stimulant oil called Cajuput or Cajeput see *Oxford English Dictionary* for the first and *Hobson-Jobson* for the (last form). This name is derived from *Kayu-putih*, the Malay word for various species of *Melaleuca* from which it is extracted. The word (which means "white wood") appeared in Dutch as *kajoeputih*, and from this the other European names are derived. *Cachopucho* would be a natural form for *Kayu-putih* to assume in Portuguese. No early quotations of its use occur in either of the authorities named above. It is not given by Linschoten, and it seems probable that this mention by Barbosa is earlier than any as yet noted.

² For the incense from Xaer see § 37, p. 65, n. 2.

³ The *milho grosso* or great millet is undoubtedly the *Holcus sorghum*, the *jawār* or *jawāri* of India, the *dhurrah* of Egypt. *Milho* is now used in Portugal for maize, which had not been introduced into India at this period. From its use in this sense come the "mealies" of South Africa.

⁴ The words *grãos*, *chicharos* are separated in the text by a comma, but perhaps it should be omitted and the words read jointly as *grãos chicharos* = chick-peas (*Cicer arietinum*). The word *gram* or grain is sometimes used by Barbosa as meaning ordinary grain, and sometimes in the restricted meaning of chick-pea. The latter it retains as "gram" in Anglo-Indian use, the *m* being given its full sound and not pronounced as in Portuguese, where, in the older spelling, *am* was equivalent to *do*.

⁵ *Haricot beans*. The word *feijões* here employed has in modern Portuguese the meaning of what we call French beans or haricot beans.

pods, which do not grow in our country, but here are good cheap and are carried everywhere. There is also much silver and coined gold, one of which gold coins is round with Moorish inscriptions and is worth 200 reis more or less ; and another of silver worth sixty reis. There is as well another kind of reckoning in which they carry on their dealings, which they call *fedeo*² and it is nought but a name being the value of eighteen reis, or fourteen, or twelve, according to place, for it is more in some places and less in others. Almonds³ also circulate as small change in this kingdom, as in other parts the small cowries do. The coins of the King of Narsyngua are also current here, that is to say *pardaos* worth three hundred reis more or less. I have already described the fashion of these.

“ Their weights for gold, silver and precious stones

Probably the *Soy* bean (*Soya Hespida*) is intended here. It is largely grown in India, and is in demand in China and Japan as an ingredient in sauces (*Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Soy*).

¹ The coins of Gujarāt have already been alluded to in § 45, p. 99, n. 1, and the *pardaos* of Vijayanagar below, § 84. The gold coins are *ashrafis* or gold mohars of full weight. The silver coins weigh from 106 to 112 grains.

² Doubtless the word printed *sedeo* in the Portuguese text was in the MS. *fedeo*, and may be identified with the *fedeo*, “a nominal coin = 15 reis” (*Da Cunha, Indo-Portuguese Numismatics*, p. 31), as Nunez stated in 1554. For theories as to its origin see *Hobson-Jobson* (Ed. Crooke, 1903), s.v. *Fedeo*, *Fuddeo*.

The value was one-fourth of a silver *tanga* or one-twentieth of a *pardao*. For similar imaginary denominations see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Chick* and *Gosbeek*.

³ The use of almonds as small change is also noticed by Linschoten, I, 246 and note 6, and also by Peter Mundy, II, 311, who says, “Theis, pice are again valed into almonds about Suratt, where forty or fifty goe currant for one pice.”

Tavernier (English translation 1678, p. 2), “For small money they make no use of these shells, but of little Almonds, which are brought from about Ormus, and grow in the Desarts of the Kingdom of Larr.” He adds: “They give forty Almonds for a Pecha (paisa). Sometimes you may have forty-four, according to the quantity which is brought.” He gives a figure of one of the small almonds on the plate facing p. 2, No. 15. Ovington, p. 216 (1696), quoted in Crooke’s Ed. of Fryer (H.S.), II, 126, n., also says “Lower than these bitter almonds here pass for money, about sixty of which make a pice.” A still later mention is in Hamilton’s *New Account*, Ed. 1744, ii, 314, “The current money in Surat. Bitter almonds go 32 to a pice.”

are *matics* of which two-and-a-half weigh an ounce ; there are also heavier weights called *candil*, each of which weighs four *quintals* more or less, according to the place, as in some places they are greater ; other smaller weights they call *mãos*, of which twenty go to the *candil*, which, as I have said, weighs a *bahar*, that is four *quintals*."¹

¹ Compare with the account as to weights here given that in the comparative table of weights and measures of Portugal and India given by Barbosa at the end of the Appendix to his book (at the end of Vol. II), from which we gather that a *bahar* weighed four *old* Portuguese quintals, each of which weighed 128 *old* arratels of 14 *onças* each. We have therefore

14 *onças* = 1 (old) arratel.
128 (old) arratels = 1 (old) quintal.
4 (old) quintals = 1 *bahar*.
Do. = 1 *candil*.
20 *maus* (*mãos*) = Do.

Fryer in 1673 found the *bahar* to be $3\frac{1}{2}$ *quintals* (i.e., the *new* *quintals* of Barbosa, weighing 128 *new* *arratels* of 16 *onças* each). He says that the kintal weighed 128 arratels, and that each arratel weighed 16 ozs. or 1 lb. avoirdupois. If, as seems probable, the Portuguese *onça* was identical with the English ounce, we may consider the various denominations given as equivalent in English weight as follows :—

Matical = $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.
Arratel = 14 oz.
Quintal = 112 lbs.
Bahar or candil = 448 lbs.
Mão (man or maund) = $22\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.

For the extraordinary variations in the value of the maund (which have continued till modern times) see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Maund. The weight given by Barbosa is lower than that generally prevailing in Western India, but Garcia de Orta in 1563 put its weight at 26 arratels in Cambay, i.e., 21 lb. 6 oz., not very different from Barbosa's estimate. The names of most of these weights are of Arabic origin

Matical is Ar. *mithkāl*.
Arratel is Ar. *ar-rail*.
Quintal is Ar. *Kintār*.
Bahar is Ar. *bahār* (or Sanskrit *bhāra*).
Mão is Ar. *man*. (Found also in many other languages.)
Candil is (Marāṭhī) *Khandi*.

A great number of quotations will be found in *Hobson-Jobson* under the headings Bahar, Maund, Miscall, Candy and Rottle, which illustrate the variations of usage in these denominations.

To the above denominations should be added the *arroba*, a term still in use in Portugal for a weight of 32 lbs. It is the Arabic *Ar-ruba'* one-fourth, i.e., originally one-fourth of a quintal, (the *old* quintal of 128 lbs). It is not given in *Hobson-Jobson*. Fryer gives it as thirty-two *rails* or *rotolas* at Goa (H.S. Ed., II, 129).

"One Arobel is 32 rotolas." Here we may take an arroba as equal to 32 rotolas (old) of 14 oz. each or 28 lbs. (p. 188, n. 1.)

§ 65. THE DAQUEM KINGDOM.

COMING forth from this kingdom of Guzarate and following the Indian road along the coast, we come to the kingdom Daquem,¹ which the Indians call Daquanil. The King thereof is a Moor, but the more part of the people is Heathen. He is a great Lord over many broad lands, which extend far inland, and there are therein also many sea-havens with much trade in divers sorts of merchandize, which are used on the mainland; and the cities and more important towns therein are those which follow.

§ 66. CHAUL.

AFTER we thus make our entry into this kingdom of Daquem, following the coast we arrive at a broad and

¹ The Portuguese at this period generally spoke of *O regno Daquem*, i.e., the Kingdom of Aquem, mistaking the initial D of the word (*Dakhhin* or *Deccan*) for the preposition *de*, a mistake which is pointed out by De Barros (*Der. II*, Cap. vii, f. 41, Ed. 1628). "The Decan Kingdom which we corruptly call Daquua." The word *Aquem* in Portuguese means "on this side" as opposed to *alem* "on the further side," as in the case of a river *banda d'aquem* is "the near bank" and *banda d'alem* "the further bank." Probably to the Portuguese first approaching from the south the Deccan was "The near Kingdom" as contrasted with *Gujarāt*.

The kingdom known as that of the *Dakhhin* or South was that ruled over by the Bahmanī dynasty which had its capital first at Kulbarga and afterwards at Bidar. This kingdom was one of those which arose from the break up of the great Dehli Saltanat of Muḥammad bin Tughlak in the middle of the fourteenth century. It was now in its decline, and its provinces were gradually becoming independent kingdoms. Among these was the province of Bijāpur which became independent under Yūsaf 'Adil Khān, who afterwards assumed the title of Shāh instead of Khān, although he was still commonly known as 'Adil-Khān, which the Portuguese turned into Ydelcão. This man, who was at a later period said to have claimed descent from the ruling family of the Ottoman Turks (see below § 73, p. 172, n. 1) gradually extended his territory to the sea, and occupied the Northern Konkan (with the exception of a small part, including Chaul and Danda, which was held by the Nizām-Shāhī King, see p. 162, n. 1, southwards, as far as Goa, and held it when Albuquerque first occupied Goa. The port of Dābhol was the most northerly of the coast towns belonging to this State.

The Bijāpur King had not as yet thrown off the nominal supremacy of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī, and had not assumed the right of coinage. Nevertheless, the State was well established, and lasted, as the 'Adil-Shāhī dynasty, till Bijāpur was taken by Aurangzeb in 1686.

fair river, within the mouth whereof is a town known as Chaul,¹ the houses of which are roofed with thatch. It has great trade, and ever in the months of December, January, February and March a great concourse of ships is found here, the more part of which are from the land of Malabar, and from many other parts as well. The ships of Malabar bring hither spices, areca-nuts, cocoa-nuts, drugs, palm-sugar, wax and emery, all of which finds here a good market, and is used in the great Kingdom of Cambaya (the ships whereof come hither to search for these things), and in return they take back great store of cotton goods, cloth, and other wares which are worth much in Malabar. The *zambuquos* which come thence take these things in

¹ The town of Chaul or Chāul, formerly one of the most important seaports in Western India, has now lost its importance, and even its name in some modern maps, although the Portuguese fort of Revadanda is still recognised. It is situated in 18.33 N. 72.59 E. on the north side of the wide harbour formed by the estuary (or khādī) of the Koṇḍulika River. The harbour is choked with sandbanks and can now only be used by small craft. Yet few towns on the Indian seaboard have such a well established history from early times. This history and the archæology of the place have been worked out in great detail by Dr. J. Gerson Da Cunha in his *Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul*, forming part of his *History of Chaul and Bassein* (Bombay, 1876). There is also a good article on the subject in *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Choul, Chaul.

It is fairly well established that it corresponds to the Indian Champāwātī, which assumed the Prākṛit form of Chēmuli, preserved in the modern names Chēwal or Tsēwal, which the Portuguese made into Cheul or Chaul, and the Italian Varthema into Cevul. From some such form as Chēmuli the Greek-speaking navigators obtained the form Semylla found in the *Periplus*, Simylla or Timoula given by Ptolemy (c. McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 42, and Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 200). In the sixth century the seaport of Sibor mentioned by Cosmas Indicopleustes may be probably identified with Chāul (Yule-Cordier, *Cathay*, I, 227, n. 6. *Cosmas*, p. 367).

M. Reinaud's identification of the Chi-mo-lo of the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang (quoted by Yule and Cordier in *Cathay*, New Ed., I, 254, n.) can probably be dismissed as uncertain, and the earliest mention after Cosmas comes from the Arab chroniclers, beginning with Mas'ūdī (916 A.D.), who visited it himself, and found there a flourishing Muhammadan colony living in peace and practising their religion in a Hindu Kingdom (Barbier de Meynard, *Prairies d'Or*, Vol. I, p. 66). He, like most of the Arab writers, spells the name Šaimūr, the Š representing the sound Ch. 'Albēṛūnī, however, gives it as Jaimūr (intended to represent Chaimūr).

The next traveller in date (about 941 A.D.) to describe Šaimūr is Ibn Mahalhil, an abstract of whose travels is given in *Cathay* (Yule and

exchange for what they bring, and they take likewise wheat, grains, rice, millet and gingelly (which is found here in great plenty), pieces of fine muslin and calicos, which are woven in this kingdom of Daquem. And they bring also the goods of Malabar, quicksilver (great store), vermilion, and copper, which they purchase in the factories of the King our Lord ; here they sell a quintal of copper for twenty cruzados and upwards (*i.e.*, 112 lbs. for £9 15s. or nearly 1s. 9d. a pound). It is used in the interior and in the kingdom of Guzurate. They coin it into money, and make thereof also cauldrons for boiling rice. The Portuguese too bring it here, as well as much more which comes from Meca [which goes thither from Dyo].¹

Cordier) I, 244-255. He describes it as inhabited by a race descended from Turks and Chinese (see note *l.c.* 253-4).

Among numerous other Arab writers of whom a full list is given by Da Cunha (*l.c.* pp. 7-10) it is sufficient to mention Alhērūnī (about 1000 A.D.) and Idrīsī (about 1150 A.D.), who describes Şaimūr as a well-built town surrounded by cocoanut palms and producing henna.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Marco Polo and Conti seem to have passed Chaul without landing, and do not mention it, but the Russian traveller Nikitin, in the middle of the fifteenth century, landed at "Chivil" on his voyage south from Kambāyat, and thence went by land to Bidar the capital of the Bahmanī kingdom, and also to Kulbarga the former capital.

The principal event connected with the early Portuguese operations on the Malabar coast was the battle in the Chaul river in 1507, when the fleet of Dom Lourenço D'Almeida, son of Dom Francisco D'Almeida the Viceroy, was surprised by the Egyptian fleet commanded by Mīr Husain, assisted by the Gujarāt *fustas* of Malik 'Ayyāz. In this battle the Portuguese were defeated and Dom Lourenço killed. De Barros alludes to this in the following words (*Dec. II*, Cap. vii, f. 41, Ed. 1628) : "This city of Chaul, where Dom Lourenço arrived, is situated on a river more than two leagues inside the bar, with a good harbour, in population and size one of the most important on that coast. The Nizamaluco (Nizāmu'l-Mulk) was lord over it, who was one of the twelve captains of the Decan kingdom."

He gives a full description of the battle, which is also well described in Pinheiro Chagas' historical romance "*A joia do Visorey*." (See also Corrêa, I, 762-771.) Corrêa calls "the Captain of the Rūmis" Agacem, *i.e.*, Aghā Husain, another name for Mīr Husain as he is called by most authorities.

¹ The words "which goes thither from Dyo" are inserted here from Ramusio and the Spanish version, as they are evidently required to carry on the sense to the following paragraph beginning "From this

"From this port of Dyo the Moors of Chaul take away every year a great number of pieces of fine muslin,¹ for turbans, in which they traffic with Arabia and Persia, where it is held in great esteem. They also have many fine calicos and Roman turbans; these three kinds of cloth are woven in this kingdom." The natives of the country use much of the calico and are clad therein, wearing it unbleached. After it has been worn they bleach it making it very white and starching it, and in this state they sell it in many regions, and on this account it is often found torn, "Also, after it has been worn, they make cloaks of it, joining two pieces together and dyeing them with good dyes, and thus they wear them, thrown over their shoulders like capes, as is their fashion, with a piece of muslin on their heads. They reckon cloths of this sort in *corjas*² or scores, for among them they

port of Dyo " . . . which paragraph is in its turn omitted in Ramusio and the Spanish version. These omissions are in neither case noted in the printed Portuguese text.

¹ The words "fine muslin" are used here and elsewhere for the Portuguese *beatilha* and "calico" for *beirame*. The latter seems originally to have been used for the finer fabrics, and this was certainly the sense given to *bairamiyyah* used in Arabic by Ibn Batūta. He describes it as a fine cotton fabric of great value (iv. 2). But here its meaning is evidently ordinary calico. The finer fabrics come under the head of *beatilha*, a term of Portuguese origin, apparently derived from the fine veils worn by devout women or *beatus*. (Compare the modern English use of "nun's veiling.") Camões uses it for the transparent vest worn by Amphinrite.

"*Vestida huma camisa preciosa*

Traxa de delgada beatilha."

"For clothing she wore a precious

Vest of fine *beatilha*."—Lus. vi. 21.

(For examples illustrating the use of both words see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Beiramee* and *Betteela*.)

² *Corja*. This is a local form of a very widely spread Indian word from the Sanskrit *Koṭi*, of which the Hindi *korī* is the best known form. The system of reckoning by scores is of great antiquity in India, and is still in general use. I once heard a bargain at a horse-fair concluded for the sum of "eleven-score less three," i.e., Rs. 217. Varthema gives it in the form *curia* (p. 170) which he found in use at Calcut. Early examples of the form *corja* or *korja* used by Barbosa are quoted in *Hobson-Jobson* (s.v. *Corge*) from Portuguese writers of 1525 and 1554.

count by scores, as we do by dozens, and the *corja* of pieces of calico or muslin is worth ten *pardaos*, more or less according to its quality." At the season of sea-traffic of which I speak there is here a great concourse of folk. It is like a fair, and when it comes to an end every man departs on his business and makes himself ready to return the next year.

In this town there is a Moorish Governor under a ruler who is himself a vassal of the King of Daquem,¹ and who accounts to him for his revenues and collects them. He is entitled *Xeque*, and does great service to the King our Lord; he is a good friend of the Portuguese, and when they arrive at this harbour they are right well entreated by him. Here there is ever a factor posted in this place by the Captain and Factor of Goa,² that he may send thither to him supplies

Corge became, as there shown, a regular trade-word at a later period. Badger in his note to the passage from Varthema mentioned above, says that *koraja* is in use in the same sense among the Arabs of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, but he did not consider it of Arabic origin. It is no doubt purely Indian, and must have been introduced into the Red Sea and Persian Gulf by the Portuguese and by Indian traders.

¹ The local governor was evidently the representative of one of the smaller kingdoms which had arisen from the break-up, in all but name, of the Bahmani kingdom of the Deccan. According to De Barros (note 1) Chaul at the time of the Portuguese battle of 1507 was in the territory of Nizamuluco, i.e., Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar, who had just succeeded to the throne as a child of seven, the power being in the hands of the Wazir or Peshwa Mukammal Khān. The title Nizāmu'l-Mulk had been held under the Bahmanis by his grandfather, and hence became the popular title of his successors. His son Ahmad (father of Burhān) rebelled on hearing of his father's assassination while he himself was besieging Danda Rājpur just South of Chaul, and made himself king. This part of the Konkan, including Chaul, remained in the possession of this family, although the greater part of the N. Kōnkan fell to the share of the 'Adil-Shāhis of Bijāpur. (See Brigg's *Ferishta*, III, 199, Persian Text, Newal Kishor Press, Lucknow, II, 96.)

² The appointment of a factor here noted was made more regular after Barbosa had left India. Permission was obtained from Burhān Nizām Shāh to open a factory on a larger scale. A fort was built at Revadanda the same year, 1516. This was followed by a larger and stronger one. The Portuguese obtained the consent of the king to this step, as he hoped to get Portuguese aid against his rivals the 'Adilshāhi king on the south, and Gujarāt on the north, and they were attacked during the

and other needful things for our fleets. And of the merchants who come hither for trade at the season I have spoken of above, those of them who are from the inland country come to this land and seat themselves in the place of assembly with all the goods they have brought with them. This is at a spot a short league inland from Chaul. They bring their goods laden on great droves of trained oxen with pack-saddles, like those of Castille, and over these long sacks thrown across, in which they pack their goods, and behind them goes a drover (*condutor*) who drives twenty or thirty oxen before him.

§ 67. DANDA.

AFTER passing Chaul, following the way to India along the coast, there is another town, also a seaport and pertaining to the lordship of Daquem, called Danda,¹ where, as at Chaul, many ships of Moors, Guzarates and Malabares go in and out.

construction of the fort by the Gujarāt fleet, but ultimately succeeded in erecting strong works on both sides of the estuary; Revadandā on the north and the Morro (Kōrlā) on the south. These still exist in ruins, and Da Cunha gives illustrations of these and other buildings. From this time on Chaul became one of the principal Portuguese possessions. The Morro hill was not, however, taken by the Portuguese until a later period, when the town had successfully resisted a siege by the later Nizāmshāhs. It long enjoyed considerable prosperity, but the rise of Bombay drew away its trade, and towards the end of the seventeenth century it fell into decay, and was ultimately surrendered to the Marāthas in 1739. It is now quite insignificant, and is included in the British collectorate of Colaba.

¹ Danda is the town of Danda Rājpur, which is shown in Rennell's map (1782) at the mouth of an estuary to the south of Chaul. The name Reva-dandā still borne by the fort which the Portuguese built at Chaul, suggests that Danda was the name of the tract of country in which both these places were situated. It was this place, Danda Rājpur, which was being besieged by Ahmad Nizām Shah when he heard of the assassination of his father (p. 162, n. 1).

It is strange to find that Barbosa still, south of the Gujarāt frontier, speaks of "the way to India." The port and island of Janjira, celebrated as the headquarters of the African Muhammadans or Habshis who so successfully resisted the Marathas in the latter part of the eighteenth century, lie on the south side of the estuary, on the north side of which Danda Rājpur is situated.

§ 68. MANDABA.

AFTER leaving this town of Danda, there is a river further on called Mandaba¹, where is another town of Moors and Heathen pertaining to the Daquem kingdom, also a good haven, used by many ships of divers regions, which come hither to buy cloth, mostly that of Malabar, and to trade as well in the coconuts and areca which come thence, which nuts are much sought after in the inland country. They bring also some spices, copper and quicksilver, which sell well here to the up country dealers.

§ 69. DABUL.

BEYOND Mandaba, travelling along the coast towards India, is a right fair river, at the mouth of which is a great town of Moors and Heathen, pertaining to the kingdom of Daquem, named Dabul.² Within the

¹ Mandaba appears as Mandabad in the Spanish version and Mardabad in Ramusio. It is probable therefore that it is a place with the termination *abad*, but no trace of any such name can be found on the coast between Chaul and Dābhōl. Its position suggests identification with Bānkot on the estuary of the Sāvitrī River (17° 59' N., 73° 5' E.). Schoff proposes to identify Bānkot with the Mandagora of the *Periplus* (Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 201), and McCrindle places Ptolemy's Mandagara in the same neighbourhood, and proposes either Madangarh (twelve miles inland from Bānkot), or Māndlā on the North bank of the Sāvitrī opposite Bānkot as its representative. The first-named is too far from the coast, and the name appears modern, but Māndlā (now called Kōl-māndlā and Bāgmāndlā) seems probable. The syllable Mand appears in all three names as the principal element. The name given by the *Periplus* and Ptolemy suggests some such form as the Sanskrit Manda-giri. Mandabad would be the same with a Muhammadan termination, and Māndlā probably a diminutive form.

The Sāvitrī River was at this period the boundary between the territory of the Nizāmshāhs and that held by the 'Ādilshāhs.

² Dabul is the port properly called Dābhōl, which is in the collectorate of Ratnagiri on the north bank of the estuary of the Yashishti River (also called the Anjanvél River from the small town of Anjanvél on the south bank). When Barbosa wrote it was the capital of the part of the North Kōnkan which belonged to the 'Ādilshāhī monarchy (nominally under the Deccān kingdom," i.e., the Bahmanī Kings of Bidar). This

mouth of the river there is a fortress with artillery for its defence. It has a very good harbour, whither sail many ships of the Moors from divers lands, to wit, from Meca, Adem and Ormus (which bring hither many horses) and from Cambaya, Dio and Malabar, which constantly deal here in goods of every kind, with many very worthy merchants, of whom some in this land are of great wealth, as well Moors as Heathen. Hence they send inland great store of copper, also much quicksilver and vermilion dye; and from the inland regions great store of cloth comes down the river and is laden on the ships, also much wheat, grain¹ (probably millet), chick-peas and sundry other sorts of pulse.² Great sums of money are gathered in here at the custom-house; the dues are collected for the king by persons

province extended from the Sāvitrī River (p. 164, n. 1) on the north to the River Ligua on the south (p. 182, n. 1).

Dābhōl, although a place of some local importance, is omitted in many modern maps, and as Yule pointed out (*Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Dabul), it was confounded in Arrowsmith's map of 1816 with Dāpoli "twelve miles north and not a seaport." It is less excusable that in such a recent production as the Bombay Census Report of 1911 the map gives Dāpoli but not Dābhōl.

It was a port of great antiquity, and has been with much probability identified with the Palaipatmaī of the *Periplus* and the Baltipatna of Ptolemy (Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 201; McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 55). This name is supposed by Nanda Lal Dey to represent some such form as Pāripātana, i.e., the port of Pāri (which is an ancient name of the West Vindhya Mountains). The modern name is connected probably with Dābhīleswara, a name of the god Siva. The form Dālbhesa is given in the *Sangamēṇvara Mahātmya* quoted in V. N. Mandlik's article in *Journal Bombay Br. R. A. S.*, 1875, p. 100. From this form it would seem that the oldest form of the name was Dālabha, from which by metathesis Dābhōl is formed. It dates from the Chālukya period.

Dābhōl was found to be a flourishing port by the Portuguese, and is mentioned in the travels of Nikitin as a place of great trade about 1475. Its trade with East Africa, Arabia and Persia is alluded to by Barbosa in many places, but among the earlier Arab writers it had not the same fame as Chāul. Most travellers seem to have gone south to Goa or Sindāpur, and to have touched at no port between Goa and Chāul.

¹ See p. 155, n. 4. If the word *grain* is read separately the meaning may be the great millet *Holcus sorghum*, see § 64, p. 155, n. 3.

² *Aligume* stands here for the modern Portuguese *legume*, which denotes pulse of all kinds.

whom he entertains for that end. It is a fine and well situated place; some of its houses are thatched with straw, and within on the river there are very fair nosques on both banks, where there are many beautiful villages. The land is well-tilled, rich and fertile, with good ploughing and breeding of cattle.

Hither came a fleet of the King our Lord, where Dom Francisco D'Almeida was Captain-in-Chief,¹ who was then Viceroy of India; and when his men landed the Moors defended themselves and fought very stoutly. Many Moors and Heathen were slain and the town was taken by storm. They wrought great destruction therein, wrecking and burning everything, and many ships as well, which were moored in the river. Those who escaped the slaughter afterwards returned to rebuild the city, which is now peopled and as prosperous as before, and wealthy. "They work as much mischief as they can to our people."

¹ The attack by the Viceroy Francisco D'Almeida on the joint fleet of the Egyptian Mamlūk Sultān under Mir Husain, and that of Gujarāt under Malik Ayyāz (which had defeated his son Lourenço D'Almeida at Chaul in 1507), was preceded by the attack on Dābhōl here described. He had intended at first to take Goa, as a base of operations, but according to De Barros he substituted Dābhōl for it, as he found that an attack on Goa was so serious an operation that it would have prevented his principal object, the destruction of the fleets at Diu, from being carried out (De Barros, *Dec. II*, Bk. iii, Ch. 3).

He considered the 'Ādil-shāhi ruler, known as the Sabayo, to be in league with his enemies, as being a Turk by origin, "one of those whom they call Rumes"; and also held that he had declared himself the enemy of the Portuguese by attacking their fort at Anchediva Island.

A full description of the attack on Dābhōl is given by De Barros (*l.c.* Ch. 4).

The sack and burning of the town were apparently not intended by D'Almeida, and led to great difficulty in the re-victualling of his fleet, which was increased by the fact that the country had lately been devastated by locusts. Owing to the necessity of collecting supplies he took thirteen days in sailing from Dābhōl to Diū, arriving there February 2nd, 1509, p. 133, n. 1.

The enmity between the 'Ādil-shāhis and the Portuguese, noted by Barbosa, was not a matter of surprise under the circumstances, and was perhaps added to by the alliance of the Portuguese with the rival power of the neighbouring Nizām-shāhis (p. 162, n. 2).

§ 70. CINGUIÇAR.

AFTER the river of Dabul, further along the coast towards Goa, is a river named Cinguiçar¹, within which, further up, is a town where trade is carried on in goods of divers kinds. Many ships "and small Malabar *zambucos*" go in there to sell their wares and to purchase other goods of the country. The town is inhabited by Moors and Heathen of the Daquem kingdom.

§ 71. THE RIVER OF BETELE AND THE TOWNS THEREON.

FURTHER along the coast, towards Goa, is another river called the Betel river,² within which are sundry small

¹ Cinguiçar (Cinguycar in the Spanish version, Cinguicar in Ramusio, R. de Ciguicar in Ribero's map). This is a shortened form of the name Sangamēśwar, a town situated (in 17° 9' N., 73° 36' E.) at the confluence of the rivers Shāstri and Sōnavi about twenty miles above the mouth of the Shāstri River. The name is derived from the Sanskrit Sangamēśvara (Lord of the confluence) from a celebrated temple of Śiva bearing that name. It is the subject of a Sanskrit poem said to have been composed in the reign of the Chālukya King Karna (about 200 A.D., but probably in reality much later) (*v. Sangamēśvara Mahātmya*, by Hon. V. N. Mandlik, *J. B. Br. R.A.S.*, 1875).

It has lost its position as a port, as the Shāstri River is not now navigable above a point six miles below the town, but as lately as 1835, ships could ascend the river to Sangamēśwar (*Bombay Gazetteer*, I, 168). It is possible that the Portuguese gave the name Cinguiçar to the whole mouth of the river and did not go up it as far as the town itself. De Barros in describing Lourenço D'Almeida's entry in 1506, says "he followed (a certain ship) up the river about a league until it came to anchor opposite a large town." He calls the river Zingaçar (De Barros, *Dec. II*, i, 4).

This place, like many others on this coast, was a resort of pirates (*Linschoten*, II, 170), and it appears to have been known for its ship-building, as D'Albuquerque in his letters speaks of a ship being built at Camguiçar. Hence a certain class of ship used for coast warfare obtained the name of Sanguicel (*Hobson-Jobson*, Ed. Crooke, *s.v.* Sanguicer, etc., and Sanguicel).

Barbosa now at last gives up the expression "on the way to India," and uses "on the way to Goa."

² The name of Betel River is merely a trade term given by the Portuguese. From its position however it may without hesitation be identified with Vijaydrug (16° 23' N., 73° 20' E.) one of the best harbours on the West coast of India, which still gives shelter to large

villages, with many very fair fruit gardens in which they gather great abundance of *betel*,¹ which they take on small craft, and take it for sale to divers places. This *betel* we call "the Indian leaf"; it is as broad as the leaf of the plantain herb,² and like it in shape. It grows on an ivy-like tree, and also climbs over other trees which are enveloped in it. These yield no fruit, but only a very aromatic³ leaf, which throughout India is habitually chewed by both men and women, night and day, in public places and roads by day, and in bed by night, so that their chewing thereof has no pause. This leaf is mixed with a small fruit (seed) called *areca*, and before eating it they cover it with moistened lime (made from mussel and cockle-shells), and having wrapped up these two things with the betel leaf, they chew it, swallowing the juice only. It makes the mouth red and the teeth black. They

ships. It stands on the Vāghōtan River, in the Ratnagiri District, and has a strong fort.

Vijaydrug is generally identified with the Byzanteion of Ptolemy and the *Periplus*. Towards the end of the seventeenth century it was the headquarters of the pirate chief Angria. It was taken by the English under Clive and Watson in 1756.

The Spanish version has corrupted the name of Betel river into Debetala or Dobetela; apparently taking the *De* or *Do* of the Portuguese original for part of the name. Ramusio, however, has it correctly as "Fiume di Betelle, dove si trova la foglia detta Betella."

Ribero's map also, which generally follows the Spanish text, has R. Debetala, and Dourado's map of 1570 also has R. Dobetelle.

¹ The description of the betel and the way in which it is prepared and eaten is accurate, and evidently derived from actual observation. The seed or nut, commonly called areca-nut, is the produce of the Betel palm (*Areca catechu*) and the leaf in which it is wrapped is that of *Piper betel*, a creeper (see Brand's *Forest Flora of N.W. India*, p. 551, and the plate facing p. 114 in Fryer's *Travels*, ed. 1698, Vol. I, p. 11, in Crooke's Ed. Hak. Soc.).

The usual name in India is *pān-supāri*, of which the first part refers to the leaf and the second to the nut.

² The name *tanchage* seems to refer to *Plantago lanceolata* the common plantain weed, and not to the Indian plantain or banana, usually alluded to by early Portuguese writers as Indian Fig.

³ The word in the text is *hamatica*, which the Portuguese editors, no doubt correctly, suppose to be a transcriber's blunder for *aromatica*.

consider it good for drying and preserving the belly and the brain. It subdues flatulence and takes away thirst, so that they take no drink with it. From hence onward, on the way to India, there is great store thereof, and it is one of the chief sources of revenue to the Indian kings. By the Moors, Arabs and Persians this *betel* is called *tambul*.¹

Beyond this Betel river, further along the coast there are other small places with harbours, where small Malabar *zambucos* go in, to get cargoes of the coarse rice which is found there in abundance, also other pulses, one of which is called *Arapatam*, and another *Muruary*.²

§ 72. BAMDA.

FURTHER forward on the coast, going from these places towards Goa, there is a right good town called Bamda,³ wherein both Moors and Heathen dwell. Here are many merchants who trade with the Malabares

¹ *Tambul* is used in Persian, but is undoubtedly a Sanskrit and Hindi word in origin. The usual Arabic word for the areca nut is *fausal*, which is also used in Persia and Balochistān, under the form of *pōpal*. The word *betel* is Malayālam *veṭṭila*, and the word areca is also from the Malayālam *aḍakka*. See *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Betel and Areca, where many quotations illustrating the use of these names are given.

² From the position of the place it may be supposed that the names of the pulses here given belong to the Kōnkanī dialect of Marāṭhi, but it is possible that Barbosa, who was familiar with Malayālam, may have given the words in use for the imports into Malabar ports.

The word *Arapatam* is the same in Ramusio, but *Arapatani* in the Spanish version. *Muruary* appears as *Munacem* in Ramusio, and as *Muharyni* in the Spanish.

Arapatam suggests the form *Arburrah* used in the Deccan for young gram-plants (*Plants of Sind*, p. 120). *Muruary* may be compared to *mōhrī* and *mahasūrī*, used in the West Panjab and Sind for *Ervum lens*.

³ The river of Bamda may with probability be identified with the estuary on which stands the modern town of Vengorla (15° 52' N., 73° 38' E.), still a considerable port with a population of 19,000 and trade in coconuts, coir, molasses, cashew, etc. It lies within the limits of the Ratnagiri District. Banda in some modern maps is shown a

on the mainland. To this harbour they bring great store of provender and goods from the mainland, as also do many other ships of divers countries, by reason that the port is well sheltered, and has abundance of goods for export. Here the Malabares take in cargoes of rice (great store), great millet and other pulses (of which they produce much) : and hither the Malabares bring coconuts, pepper and many other spices and drugs, which have here right good sale. Many ships, too, come hither from Adem and Ormus. And beyond this port, between it and Goa, is another river called Bardes¹ on which are many villages with no trade whatsoever.

§ 73. GOA.

FURTHER along the coast there is a very fine river which sends out two branches to the sea. Between these two is an island on which stands the city of Goa.² It

short distance inland from Vengorla, and in Ribero's map of 1529 it appears north of Goa, also Bamda in Dourado's map of 1570.

There are a number of navigable estuaries along the coast of Ratnagiri. The rivers have a short course (seldom more than forty miles) from the Ghāts to the sea, but they bring down a great body of water, owing to the abundant rainfall on the western flank of the Ghāts, and are often navigable for nearly twenty miles. Their estuaries form good harbours for the coast trade.

¹ Bardes is the northern province of the Goa territory, coming down to the Rio de Goa opposite Panjim. It is shown as "Terro des Bardes" in D'Abbeville's map of 1652 (reproduced in Danver's *Portuguese in India*, Vol. I) (see also the map of Goa territory, 1814, reproduced in Do., Vol. II).

Bardes is shown in the Sloane MS. Chart of Goa (*Commentaries of Dalboquerque*, II, p. 88) as a village on the north bank of the Goa River, and its river mentioned by Barbosa may be the Rio de Mapuça which joins the Goa River at that point as shown in that chart.

² Goa before its conquest by the Portuguese is unknown to history under this name or any similar one, although it may be with probability identified with the Gowā or Gowāpura of the copper plate grant of 1391 published in *J. Bo. Br. R.A.S.*, iv, 107, mentioning (as Yule points out in *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Goa) the reconquest of the place from the Turushkas or Turks, i.e., the Muhammadans. With this exception the name does not occur before the early sixteenth century.

belongs to the Daquem, and was a seignory over itself and over other lands around it further inland. There

It has, however, been identified by Yule with the *Šindābūr* of the Arab geographers, and their accounts make it clear that there was a port on this part of the coast to which they gave the name of *Šindābūr*, and Ibn Baṭūṭa's description of a large island in the estuary of a river containing several villages, does not correspond so well with any other place. Ibn Baṭūṭa also to some extent corroborates the statement in the copper plate, as he was present at the conquest of *Šindābūr* by Sultan Jamālū'd-dīn of Honāwar about 1344, and was again there shortly afterwards when the Hindū king himself in his turn besieged it. Ibn Baṭūṭa rather ignominiously fled away in a ship to the Maldive Islands, leaving the Sultan in the lurch.

The earlier Arab writers give little but the name, and evidently knew little about it. The earliest is Mas'ūdī (943 A.D.), who gives us no other information than that it is on a gulf infested by crocodiles in the Kingdom of Baghira. He spells the name *Šindābūr* with the Arabic *š*, which often corresponds to the Indian *Ch*. And in confirmation of this we have the form *Cintabor* in the Medicean map (1350) and *Chintabar* in the Catalan map (1375). It would seem therefore that the original form of the word commenced with the sound *ch*.

Idrīsī (Jaubert, I, 179) simply says that it was four days' journey from Bharōch to Thāna and another four from Thāna to *Šindābūr*, apparently having confounded *Šindābūr* with *Šindān* which lies between Bharōch and Thāna. Rashīd-u'd-dīn (about 1300 A.D.) gives the towns of the Malibār coast in their proper order from north to south, viz., *Šindābūr*, *Faknūr* (Bacanore), *Manjarūr* (Mangalore), *Hili* (Mt. Dely), etc. (Elliot and Dowson, I, 68). This is not in the part of Rashīd-u'd-dīn's geography borrowed from Albērkūnī (about 1000 A.D.). The latter however has, in his list of places in the south, the name *Chitrakūṭa* (Albērkūnī, I, p. 301), which will be considered below. We have, therefore, the puzzling fact that there was a well-known port on this coast which was known up to the fifteenth century as *Šindābūr*, *Chintapur*, or some such name, and after that time there was a port called Goa apparently identical with it.

No account seems to have been taken by any commentator of the neighbouring port of *Cintacora*, which follows next on Barbosa's list. It has disappeared from modern maps, but lay in the southern province of the Goa territory, extending southwards nearly to the Kālinadi River (formerly the Lige River), and is shown in the maps of Ribero (1529), Ortelius (1570), and D'Abbeville (1652). It is impossible to avoid the belief that this name *Cintacora* represents the *Chintapura* which took the Arabic form of *Šindābūr*. Possibly Albērkūnī's *Chitrakūṭa* is the true form of the name; it means "coloured peak," and Rennell's map of 1780 shows in the same neighbourhood a *Chitaldrug* (with the same meaning in the local language). Albērkūnī's Sanskrit form would easily give rise to such a name as Barbosa's *Cintacora*. The form *Chitra-giri* would be a synonymous form, and might easily give rise to such a form as *Cintacora*, cf. *Canderacora* for *Chandragiri* (Cathay, iv, p. 74).

The estuary of the Kālinadi has always been a haven, and the town of Ratwār, now a port of some importance, has grown up on its southern side in more recent times. It is not found in the old maps. Varthema's Bathacala, which his editor, Dr. G. P. Badger, distinguishes from the better known Batecala (or Bhatkal), is supposed by him to be situated on the bay of Sadashēogāh, north of the estuary of the Kālinadi, but Varthema says distinctly that it had no port, the only

rules a great lord, a vassal of the said king, whom they call Sabayo,¹ on whom this seignory of Goa was bestowed because he was a bold horseman and valiant

approach to the sea being by a small river. Whether there was really such a place, or whether it was merely a confused mention of Bhatkal (which all other travellers mention, but Varthema omits), it is impossible to decide, but the site of Cintacora must have been close to that of the modern Sadashēgarh, for, according to Barbosa's description, it was the frontier fort of the 'Ādilshāhīs, whose southern boundary was the Kālinadi or Liga River.

The isle of Anchediv or Anjediva lies opposite to the estuary of this river, and is much further from Goa, and its proximity therefore does not make it necessary to suppose that Ibn Baṭūṭa's Sindābūr is necessarily identical with Goa.

For sixteenth century descriptions of Goa it is sufficient to refer to De Barros, *Dec. II*, v, Ch. I, and to the *Commentaries*, II, 92. Later descriptions are very numerous. One of the best is that of the Frenchman Dellon (*Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa*, 1698, p. 41). See also *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Goa.

¹ *The Sabayo*. The meaning and origin of this title has been the subject of some discussion, of which an account is given s.v. Sabayo, Çabayo in Mr. Crooke's edition of *Hobson-Jobson*. Sir H. Yule adopted the explanation given by De Barros, to the effect that it was a personal name denoting the place of origin of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, the founder of the 'Ādilshāhī kingdom, viz., Sāva in North Persia, giving rise to the adjectival form Sāvai. Mr. Whiteway's opinion is that this is a mistake. He takes Do Couto as his authority for the statement that Sabaio was a Hindū title borne by a Hindu chief in Kanara, whose sons Do Couto knew personally. These sons it appeared laughed heartily when Do Couto read them the passage from De Barros, and said that their father was neither a Turk nor a Çufo (i.e. in *Hobson-Jobson*, and Whiteway's *Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, p. 133, n. 1). It would seem that the sons of the Hindū chief understood but little of Do Couto's meaning, and thought he was calling their father a Turk and a Şūfi (or perhaps that his name was Yūsuf). In any case, this is a very slight ground for rejecting the universal contemporary testimony to the effect that Sabayo was a title of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh, and that he was of Turkish origin: The statement of De Barros, is, as Yule observed, clear and intelligent, and its correctness is independently affirmed by Ferishta.

The following extract from Ferishta's history is translated from the Persian text, condensed, as the original is verbose. It supplies certain points, especially as regards the origin of the term Sāvai, which are not to be found in Briggs' translation. *Ferishta's History* Vol. II, p. 2, ed. Lucknow (Newal Kishor Press):

"Abū Muzaffar Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh Turkomān was of the lineage of the rulers of Rūm who are known to fame as Uthmān. When his father, Sultān Murād, died in the year 854, in Rūm, his eldest son Sultān Muḥammad succeeded without opposition to the throne of Rūm.

[He then goes on to say that in accordance with precedent it was determined to kill all possible pretenders to the throne, and Yūsuf's mother, learning of this, had him conveyed away by a Georgian merchant of Sāwa named 'Imādu'd-dīn Mahmūd, a slave who resembled him being substituted for him.]

in war, in order that he might wage war thence against the king of Narsyngua, as he did continually thenceforth until the day of his death ; on which this

He was taken with a Baghdād kāfila first to Ardibil and enrolled among the 'disciples of Sheikh Safi. Then 'Imādu'd-dīn took him to Sāwa and treated him as his own son.

After some years, his mother, learning news of him, sent his nurse with her two sons Ghazanfar Ākā and Dilshād Ākā to him. After a time through these people the secret of his birth became known and the Hākīm of Sāwa heard of it (who was one of the Āk-Kuyinlū Turkomāns). This man extorted 400 tomans from him. At last he escaped to Shirāz by way of Kum, Kāshān and Isfahān. The ruler of Sāwa wished to get him into his power again, but being warned by the Saint Khidhr 'Alī in a dream he embarked at the port of Jarūm, known as Hurmūz, and sailed to Mustafā-ābād Dābul, whence after some time he was taken to Ahmādābād Bīdar by Khwāja 'Imādu'd-dīn Maḥmūd of Georgia, who had occasion to go there on business. And as Gurjistān is connected with Gilān, by means of former correspondence and friendship between Khwāja Maḥmūd and Khwāja Jahān Gāwān he made Yūsuf over to Khwāja Jahān, who obtained him an appointment among the troops of Nizām Shāh Bahmanī and his mother Makhdūma Jahān. Mirza Muḥammad Sawī heard this from his father, Ghiyāth-ud-dīn Muḥammad Wazīr of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh, and it is confirmed by Nawwāb Shāh Jamālud-dīn Husain son of Shāh Ḥasan Anju, and an old woman named Jawāhira who was in the employ of the mother of the Bahmanī kings, and was doorkeeper of the Shāh Ni'amatullāh, told my father a story that Bibī Sati, daughter of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh and wife of Ahmad Shāh, at the wedding ceremony took precedence of the other ladies of the family as a descendant of the rulers of Rūm . . . and since Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh had been brought up in Sāwa he became known among men as Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh Sawī, broken in the Hindi tongue to Sawāl, for Sawāl in Hindi means *chahār wa yak* [i.e., "one fourth"; but *sawā* in Hindi is in reality "one-and-a-quarter," or "a quarter more" of any number that follows it. "One-fourth" simply is *chaupāī*], as Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh, through the trust placed in him, held land and forces to the extent of one-fourth more than the other Governors of the Dakkan, and it was under this nickname that he gained his fame. In any case it is certain that they turned Sāwa into Sawāl, just as in the Nizāmshāhi dynasty they have altered Baḥarō to Bahri."

Firishta was brought in his youth from his home at Astrābād in M'zandarān to Ahmadnagar, the headquarters of the Nizāmshāhis, and joined the 'Ādilshāhis at Bijāpur in 998 hijrī (1589). He therefore was in a position to learn accurately what was related at their capital as the true history of the rise of the reigning family less than a hundred years before.

De Barros, whose first edition was published in 1553, gives a narrative substantially identical with that of the Muhammadan historian, except as regards the royal origin. His first allusion is as follows (Dec. II, fol. 97, Ed. 1628) :

"When we came into India the lord of this city of Goa was a Moor named Soay, captain of the King of the Decan, whom we commonly call Sabayo."

city remained in the possession of his son the Çabaym Hydalcam.

The inhabitants thereof are Moors of distinction, many of whom are foreigners from divers lands. They

The second as follows (*l.c.* fol. 101).

After mentioning the principal rulers who held power in the Decan, *viz.*, The Sabayo, Nizamaluco (Nizāmu'l-mulk), Madremuluco 'Imādu'l-mulk) Melic Verido (Amīr Barid) Coje Mocadão (Khwāja Mukaddam) the Abyssinian Eunuch (Dastūr Dinār) and Cotamaluco (Çuṭbul-mulk), he continues :

"The most powerful of them all was the Sabayo, Lord of Goa, who (according to the information given to Afonso D'Albuquerque by Timoja) had died ; and on account of the share we hold of his possessions, that is to say this city of Goa, which was its principal place at that time, we shall relate in what manner he attained to such power. According to those who knew the beginnings of his fortunes, the Sabayo was a native of Persia, from a city called Sabá or Savá, for both these names are used by the Persians, who when they form patronymics, make Sabaij from Sabá, and Farsij from Fars (in Persia), and Armenij from Armen (for Armenia), and all others in the same way. Following this true formation we should call this man Sabaij, and not Soay or Sabayo as we make it."

He then continues to relate how he was sold by his father, a man of low position at Sāva, and was sent from Hurmuz to India in charge of horses, and finally rose to power in the employ of the Bahmanī kings.

Varthema's evidence, too, is to the effect that the "Savain" whom he found in possession of Goa (about 1510) was a "Mameluke" or slave from Turkey, a point on which he was well qualified to speak, as he had been a "Mameluke" himself.

Considering all the evidence therefore, it seems clear that the founder of the 'Adilshāhī dynasty was a native of Sāva in Persia, that he was brought to India as a slave and rose to power under the Bahmanīs by his abilities, afterwards founding an independent kingdom on the disruption of that monarchy, and that he was known first as Sāvī, from his birthplace, and afterwards as Savāī from confusion with the Indian word Sawāl, which originally meant "possessor of a quarter more," and has been continued to the present day on the coins of the [Mahārājas of Jaipur. The Persian Sāva becomes Sāvā in Indian pronunciation and the adjective form from this would be Sāvāī. Its identification with the Hindi Sawālī is a natural piece of popular etymology.

The legend of royal origin was probably invented after his rise to power. Indeed Firishta's elaborate attempt to find evidence for it shows that it was not universally accepted in his time ; and probably that he had doubts about it himself, but was too much of a courtier to say so ; but the independent narrative of De Barros confirms the origin from Sāva, and it is impossible to attach any importance to the statements of Do Couto's informants.

It may be noted that Barbosa gives two forms of the word, *viz.*, Sabayo, as generally used by the Portuguese, and Çabaym, an attempt to reproduce the native pronunciation.

Ydalcam stands for 'Adil-Khān, the name by which Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh and his successors were known to the Portuguese. He had no doubt become popularly known as 'Adil Khān before he assumed the royal designation of Shāh.

were white men,¹ among whom, as well as merchants of great wealth, there were also many husbandmen. The land, by reason that the harbour was exceeding good, had great trade, and many ships of the Moors came thither from Meca, the city of Adem, Ormus, Cambaya and Malabar. The Hydalcam had there a captain with many men at arms, who guarded it, and no man entered the island except under a strict regulation and a pass. He also kept there magistrates, scriveners and guards, who stopped every man who would enter, writing down who and whence he was, and what were his distinguishing marks; in this manner they allowed men to come in or to go forth. The city is very great, with good houses, well girt about with strong walls, with towers and bastions. Around it are many vegetable and fruit gardens, with fine trees and tanks of sweet water, with mosques and heathen temples. The surrounding country is exceeding fertile. Here the Hydalcam had a great revenue as well from the land as from the sea.

Having heard the news of the overthrow of the Rumes before Dio by the Viceroy Dom Francisco Dalmeida² as I have stated above in its proper place,

¹ *White men.* Varthema says that the Savain was at the head of 400 Mamelukes like himself. These were mainly Turks, Persians, Kurds, Abyssinians or captives from Christian countries, and must all have appeared white in comparison with the natives of the Konkan. There were also settlers and adventurers in great numbers from the countries lying round the Red Sea and Persian Gulf in all the ports of Western India at this period. The kingdoms of the Deccan depended mainly on these men for their armies. The native Musalman population of Goa are called by De Barros Naiteas (see p. 147, n. 1, and p. 187, n. 1).

² Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh, himself a "Mamlūk" like Mir Husain, the Egyptian admiral, who was a Kurd by birth, was evidently from the beginning in the combination of Muhammadan powers against the Portuguese, and after the sack of Dābhōl by D'Almeida he was eager for revenge. Hence the combination of the naval powers which Barbosa alludes to, and the activity in the Goa river which led to the attack on it made by Alboquerque. Although Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh

he sent to summon all those who had escaped thence, and they, leaving their Captain Mirocem in the kingdom of Guzarate, came to Goa. The Hydalcam received them well and determined to give them all the aid and succour of which they stood in need, and to set them up again by the help of other Moorish

was a Shi'a, a large part of his Muhammadan subjects were Sunnis, and he had been involved in many difficulties by his attempts to establish the Shi'a creed in his dominions. It must be remembered also that the Muhammadan fleet was under the Sultān of Egypt, who was not yet subject to Selīm the Sultān of Turkey, the great enemy of the Persian Shāh, the leader of the Shi'as.

Goa was first taken in February, 1510. The Portuguese historians say that D'Albuquerque had been informed by the pirate Timoja that Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh was dead, but according to Ferishta, who is a good authority on Bijāpur affairs, the Christians took Goa during his life in the year 915 hijrī, and he died of melancholia in the year 916. The hijrī year 916 commenced on April 10th, 1510, and it is clear therefore that Goa was lost during his life, and probably he was still alive when his troops retook the town at the end of May, for one of the first events recorded in the history of his successor Isma'īl 'Ādil Shāh (a minor) was that the Christians had taken it a second time, and that the regent Kamāl Khān made peace with the Portuguese, and allowed them to keep Goa, on condition that they did not molest any other part of the 'Ādilshāhī dominions, a condition, Ferishta observes, which had been faithfully kept ever since.

The monsoon had set in when Goa was lost, and Albuquerque was obliged to remain in the sheltered river between the Point of Rebandar and the fort of Panjim (modern Goa). He moved his fleet down stream to this anchorage, which gave him more space than that near old Goa, and also gave him access to the land of Bardes and adjacent islands on the north side of the estuary, where his Hindū ally Timoja had a fort, and he could obtain water and supplies. He could not get out to sea during the monsoon, as the bar was impassable at that season; only the Marmagão branch, south of the island, was then open (cf. Dellon's *Inquisition de Goa*, pp. 41-42).

There he maintained himself with difficulty and loss, and almost famine in the fleet, until at last he was able to get over the bar in the beginning of August, and sent his sick to the Isle of Anchediva, to be provided for by Timoja with provisions from Honāwar and Mergen, and went himself to Cananor to refit. He returned to the attack on Goa on November 20th, 1510, and the assault took place on the 25th, St. Catherine's Day. The small craft were sent round to the channel on the east side of Goa by night, to make a diversion and attract the attention of the enemy, while the main attack was made on the river front where the fortifications had been strengthened by a strong stockade. The attack was successful, and Goa fell finally into the hands of the Portuguese. It was their most important acquisition, and gave them a very strong position on the west coast of India, with a good harbour, and a territory capable of furnishing them with supplies.

Barbosa does not distinguish between the two occasions on which Goa was taken, but appears to refer chiefly to the second and more important.

kings and of the merchants, to the end that they might wage war against our people ; in such a way, that having gathered together a great sum of money they began to build in the Goa river fair galleys and brigantines after our fashion and style, as well as many pieces of ordnance of iron and copper and all other munitions of war needful for the sea, and made such good speed that in a short time a great part of the fleet was ready, as well as many great store-houses full of all necessaries in great perfection. Thus they were so confident that they put out to sea in *atalayas* and *fustas* to the *zambucos*, which were passing by with safe-conducts from the Captains of the King our Lord and from Afonso D'Alboquerque, who was then Captain-in-Chief of the Indian Sea, and took them. And as this continued to increase, the said Afonso D'Alboquerque, having information thereof, determined to pay them a visit and persuade them to change their intentions ; so gathering together all his ships, caravels and galleons he entered the river, and attacking the said city, took it by force of arms. In this attack many noteworthy events took place, which I do not here relate, in order to cut my story short, " for it is not my intention to write a chronicle, but only a short summary of that which can in truth be ascertained regarding the chief places in India."

But, to return to the subject : In this fight perished much people of the city, and of the ships which they had made ready some were taken and more were burnt, and he brought the city forthwith under the rule and governance of the King our Lord, even as it now is, and built for its defence strong fortresses. It is, at this time present, inhabited by Portuguese, Moors and Heathen, in great numbers.

Duties on the fruits and produce of the land yield the King our Lord yearly twenty thousand cruzados, in addition to the port dues.

In this port of Goa there is great trade in many kinds of goods, from the whole of Malabar, Chaul, Dabul and the great kingdom of Cambaya, which are consumed on the mainlands, and from the kingdom of Ormus come every year many ships laden with horses, and great numbers of dealers from the great kingdom of Narsyngua and from Daquem come hither to buy them. They pay for them at the rate of two to three hundred cruzados a piece, as the case may be, and take them away to sell them to the kings and lords of their lands, and by this means one and all they make great gains, and the King our Lord as well, who receives a duty of forty cruzados on each horse.¹ [The King of Portugal collects forty thousand ducats in revenue; although they now pay less than in the time of the Moors, nevertheless the said port makes him good returns.—*Ramusio*].

[In this kingdom of Decam there are many great cities and many towns and villages in the inland country, inhabited by Moors and Heathen. The country is exceedingly fertile, yielding much food, and with great traffic.]

The Ormus merchants take hence in their ships cargoes of rice (great store) sugar, iron, pepper, ginger and other spices of divers kinds, and drugs, which they carry thither: and in all their dealings they are by the order of the King our Lord treated with greater mildness than by the Moorish kings.

¹ For the value of the Goa cruzado, and the price of the horses imported from Arabia, see p. 65, n. 1.

The passage which follows (from *Ramusio*) is evidently an addition relating to a later date. He always substitutes ducats for cruzados, following in this the Spanish version. Both also substitute the Spanish *maravedis* for the Portuguese *reis*.

The king of this land¹ and of the whole *Daquem* kingdom is named *Soltan Mahamude*. He is a Moor, and resides always in one city which is called *Bider*, where there is great luxury, leading a very pleasant life. He does not govern himself, nor do anything concerning his government, but makes it all over to certain Moorish noblemen to govern, and each of these has charge of certain towns and cities, and governs those entrusted to him by the king. If any one of these rises against him the others all help him against the rebel, and bring him back to his obedience or destroy him. These Governors are often at war one with the other; they have many horsemen and are good archers, with Turkish bows. They are fair men and tall, and are attired in fine cotton garments, with turbans on their heads. They come from divers countries, and he pays them right well; they speak Arabic, Persian and *Daquanim*,² which is the native tongue of the land.

¹ Here Barbosa returns to the original Bahmani kingdom of Mahmūd Shāh, who still retained his nominal suzerainty over a very large area of the Deccan, although superseded in real power by his vassals. It may be noted, however, that none of these had assumed the right of coinage, the universal symbol of sovereignty in the East. Barbosa's account of the position of the nominal king shows a very accurate knowledge of the position. Mahmūd Shāh II, the last king with any shred of independence, was still on the throne, under the tutelage of his powerful minister, Amīr Barīd. He died in 1518, and four of his sons succeeded him in rapid succession, of whom two were killed by Amīr Barīd. The last, Kalīmū'llāh, died at Bīdar in 1526, and the dynasty came to an end. The capital of these kings was first at Kulbarga (called Aḥsanābād on their coins), but Bīdar took its place in later times. It is called Muḥammadabad on some coins (but Firishta, in the passage quoted in p. 173, calls it Aḥmadābād Bīdar). Dr. Codrington's note in *Num. Chron.* 1898, p. 267, and the figure of the coin given in the accompanying plate, leave no doubt that the name is Muḥammadabad. Firishta's Aḥmadabad is probably a copyist's error, as the names in the Persian character differ only in the first letter.

(For a sketch of the history see *Gold and Silver Coins of the Bahmanī Dynasty*, by J. Gibbs, *Num. Chron.* 1881, and the *History of the Bahmanī Dynasty*, by Major J. S. King, London, 1900.)

² *Daquanim*, i.e., *Dakḥḥanī*, means the language of the Deccan, that is, Marāṭhī. This word is now applied to the variety of the Urdū language which spread among the Musalmāns of the Deccan after the

The Moorish noblemen in general take with them tents, with which they form encampments, on the halting-grounds, when they travel, or when they take the field to attack any town.

They ride on high-pommelled saddles,¹ and make much use of *zojares*, and fight tied to their saddles, with long light lances which have heads a cubit long, square and very strong. They wear short coats padded with cotton,² and many of them kilts of mail; their horses are well caparisoned with steel headpieces. They carry maces and battle-axes and two swords (each with

authority of the Mughal Empire had been established there, but in the early part of the sixteenth century the word could not have had this meaning.

¹ The phrase "cavalgaom ha bastarda" seems to bear this meaning, as Vieyra says "sella bastarda" means a saddle with a high pommel before and behind. Ramusio also has "cavalcano alla bastarda," but Stanley in his translation of the Spanish version has, "They ride a small saddle and fight tied to their horses." Ramusio's equivalent for the last phrase is "combattonq tutti in sella," viz., "they all fight mounted." There is nothing in either of these versions to suggest the true meaning of the word *zojares* used by Barbosa. I have been unable to find any other instance of its use, nor is it given in any dictionary. The form of the word suggests that it is of Arabic origin, but Dozy does not include the word in his glossary of Spanish and Portuguese words derived from Arabic, which is very defective as regards Portuguese words.

A similar sentence occurs in § 48, where, after describing the method of riding on high-pommelled saddles, the Spanish version and Ramusio both add "and make use of whips" (p 119, n. 1). As the two passages are evidently parallel, it is probable that *zojares* here also means "whips," and is a variant of *azoragus* or *zoragus* a "whip with leather thongs." I would suggest as a probable derivation that from the Ar. *aṣ-ṣar'ā* (pl. of *aṣ-ṣar'i*) "scourges." From *zoragus* the form *sofar* here used might be derived by metathesis, which is not uncommon in Portuguese.

² These quilted coats are still much worn in cold weather in Northern India. The Spanish version adds "which they call *laudes*," a word which in Ramusio is *Landes*. It is not given in the Portuguese text, and its true meaning is doubtful. If the form *lāūd* is correct it may possibly be from Ar. *al-'audh*, a refuge or shelter. It is used by Domingos Paes in his narrative (translated by Mr. Sewell in *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 268 and 276) in the forms *Lavodes* and *Laudeis*, and also by Fernão Nuniz in his *Chronicle of Vijayanagar* (ib. p. 327). See Mr. Sewell's note on p. 276, who quotes another instance of its use in De Barros, III, iv. 4. Mr. Sewell suggests as its origin the Canarese *lodū*, "a stuffed cloth or cushion." Here it is used of the Bijapur kingdom where the language was Canarese as well as at Vijayanagar, at least in the capital. Possibly the word came into use in Portuguese after Barbosa wrote.

its dagger),¹ two or three Turkish bows hanging from the saddle, with very long arrows, so that every man carries arms enough for two. When they go forth to fight they take their wives with them, and they employ pack-bullocks on which they carry their baggage as they travel. Their king is often at war with the king of Narsyngua, from whom he has taken many towns, who in his turn endeavours to recover them. They are but seldom at peace, and were so even more seldom while the Sabayo yet lived.² The Heathen of this Daquem kingdom are black and well-built, the more part of them fight on foot, but some on horseback, yet these are few. The foot-soldiers carry swords and daggers, bows and arrows. They are right good archers, and their bows are long like those of England.³ They go bare from the waist up, but are clad below; they wear small turbans on their heads. They eat flesh of all kinds, save beef, which is forbidden by their idolatrous religion, which they follow very strictly. When they die they order their bodies to be burnt, and their wives burn themselves alive as I shall relate below when dealing with the kingdom of Narsyngua.

§ 74. CINTACORA.

COMING forth from this city, and following the coast on the way to Malabar there is a river called Ligua

¹ Daggers and knives are still often carried with the sword, fitted into a small sheath on the outside of the scabbard, near the hilt.

² This refers to Yūsuf 'Adil Shah who died as has been stated on p. 175, n. 2, in 1510. He had been frequently engaged in wars against the great Hindū kingdom of Vijayanagar (the Narsynga of Barbosa) both on behalf of Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī and on his own account.

³ The English long-bow was still in use at this period, and served as a standard of comparison with bows of other countries. See § 5, p. 10, n. 2. Turkish bows are likewise often alluded to. It is stated above that the mounted men carried Turkish bows, and it is evident that the infantry were armed with bows resembling the English long-bow.

which is the boundary of the kingdoms of Daquem and Narsyngua, and at the mouth of this river, on a hill, is a castle named Cintacora,¹ which the Sabayo holds here for the defence of his realm; in which he keeps continually a large body of men, both foot and horse. Here, on the north bank, ends the kingdom of Daquem, which possesses the coast as far as Chaul, and the distance from this fort along the coast is about ninety leagues.

§ 75. KINGDOM OF NARSYNGUA, PROVINCE OF TOLINATE.

ON passing Cintacora, beyond it on the further side, we enter at once the great kingdom of Narsyngua,² which

¹ Cintacora is called Cintacola in the Spanish version, also by Varthema and Ramusio. Reasons have been given in p. 170, n. 2, for supposing that Cintacora represents the name given by the Arab geographers in the form *Ṣindābūr*, representing possibly a vernacular form Chitrapur, Chitrakūṭa or Chitragiri, which may survive in the more local form of Chital-drug. What is certain is that it lay north of the Liga or Kālī-Nadī, in the territory shown in the map of Goa (1814) (Danvers, II, map in pocket) under the name of Canacona, and as Conacona in the map in *The Bombay Gazetteer*, 1911. The identification with Ancola in N. Canara which lies several miles to the south of that river appears impossible (*Varthema*, pp. 120-1, note 2, and *Cathay*, iv, 72).

De Barros gives the reason for the rise of Cintacora and its fortification as a frontier fort. The Muhammadans of Honor and Batecala had emigrated to the Isle of Tissuary, and founded there the town of Goa. They began to get all the horse-trade into their hands and to divert it from the first mentioned towns. Hence they were attacked violently by the pirate Timoja, who was instigated by the Raja of Vijayanagar, and built this fort to secure themselves against attack from the south (*Dec. I*, viii, 10, f. 171. Ed. 1628).

² *The Kingdom of Narsinga*. The extensive Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar was known to the Portuguese as Narsinga from the name of the ruling Rāja at the time of Vasco da Gama's first arrival in India. His name was Narasinha or Narsingha. This kingdom had grown from the small state of Kārṇāṭa in the fourteenth century, and at this period included a great part of Southern India. On the north-east it had extended into Telingana, and on the south-east into the Tamil-speaking country of Ma'abar or Charamandel (*i.e.*, Chōramandala, the country of the Cholas. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Coromandel). Towards the west it included the coast province below the Ghāts, now forming the Bombay District of North Kanara, and the Madras District of South Kana a, in which dwells a Tulu-speaking population of about

is so great that it contains five vast provinces, each with its own language. The first of these extends along the coast as far as Malabar, and this they call Tolinate, and another in the back-country behind it, which they call Danseam Rayen. The next which marches with the kingdom of Narsyngua proper, is called Telingu; then the city of Bisnaga itself, which they call Canarim,

half a million between the rivers Chandragiri and Kalyānapūri (see General Report, *Census of India*, 1901, p. 287, Sir G. Grierson).

Thus the five provinces mentioned by Barbosa can be identified with certainty, with the exception of Danseam Rayen, in which the identification, though probable, is not certain.

(a) *Tolinate* (see note, by Burnell, in *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. 1903, p. 45). Tolinate=Tulu-nāḍā, Tuluva or S. Canara). The coast province of North and South Kanara including the Tulu-speaking people from which the name Tolinate is doubtless derived (the Spanish gives this as Tulinat, which Ramusio has corrupted into Tulimar).

(b) *Danseam Rayen*. This name is evidently corrupt. It is omitted altogether both by the Spanish version and Ramusio, which, although they say there are five provinces, only name four. In spite of the impossibility of identifying the name (except the termination *Rayen*, which is evidently the S. Indian form Rāya for Rāja) it is probable that this province represents the State of Bankāpur, and that the fifth language alluded to is Marāṭhi. Although Bankāpur seems to be within the Canarese-speaking border it was undoubtedly under Marāṭhā rule at this period, and its Marāṭhā chiefs were vassals of Vijayanagar (*A Forgotten Empire*, p. 122, note 1, and *Ib.*, p. 379, the narrative of F. Nuniz). Its position at the back of the Ghāts behind Kanara corresponds with Barbosa's account, and he must have passed through it, as the principal road from the coast towns of Bhatkal and Honāwar did so (*Ib.* p. 122, note 1).

It might seem at first sight that this fifth language must be Malayālam, as Calicut is included among the vassal states of Krishna Raya's kingdom by Nuniz and others (*Forgotten Empire*, p. 374). The list includes Bengapor, Gasoppa, Bacanor, Calecu and Batecala, i.e., Bankāpur, Gērsoppa or Honāwar, Bacanor, Calicut, and Bhatkal. Of these Gērsoppa, Bacanor and Bhatkal were all minor principalities in the province of Tolinate. The central state of Vijayanagar itself and the Tamil and Telingāna kingdoms are not included, so that the list is in no way complete. Barbosa always considers Calicut as independent. See § 82, p. 197, n. 3, in which he clearly states that the Governor of that place was the last appointed by the king of Narsingā, and that his kingdom finished on the coast of the province of Tolinate. Gasoppa or Gērsoppa no doubt includes Honāwar (see § 76, p. 184, n. 2).

(c) *Telingu*, that is the Telugu-speaking country of Telingāna. This is transformed in the Spanish version into Legni bordering on the kingdom of Tisa, and by Ramusio into Tien Lique bordering on kingdom of Oriza. The kingdom alluded to here is Otisa (see § 85) or Orissa, up to the borders of which the Telugu country extends along the shores of the Bay of Bengal.

(d) *Bisnaga*, or Vijayanagar, the capital and centre of Karnāta, the nucleus of the kingdom. The language spoken there was Canarese, the

and the kingdom of Charamandel, where the language is Tamul. This kingdom is very widespread, and a very fruitful land with many farmsteads, large villages, towns, and cities.

In this province of Tolinate are sundry rivers and towns with havens, where there is much seafaring and traffic in goods of divers kinds. I shall now begin to treat of these places, and especially of those of them which here follow.

§ 76. MERGEN.¹

In the first place, at the beginning of this province of Tolinate, is a very great river called Mergen,² where is

Canarim of Barbosa (in the Portuguese text by a copyist's blunder it is printed Tanarim. It is Canari in the Spanish and Canarin in Ramusio)

(e) *Charamandel*, the well known kingdom occupying the northern part of the Tamil-speaking area, and known to the Arabs and to Marco Polo as Ma'abar. Mr. Burnell in *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Coromandel, gives an exhaustive enquiry into the word, which, as he shows, denotes the kingdom of the Cholas. The Portuguese wrote the name correctly with *Ch*, which the Spanish version preserves in Chomendel. Ramusio alters it into Coromendel, no doubt supposing *Ch* to denote the *k* sound as in Italian, and omitting the *h* as not required before *o*. This spelling probably started the common modern form, as Ramusio's collection had a wide circulation.

¹ Barbosa passes from Cintacora on the Kālinadi to Mergen, without mention of the important town of Karwār on the south side of that stream, which has been developed in more modern times. Karwār is probably the Caribal of the *Commentaries* (III, 27). "Caribal and Ancola (two places which lie in front of Cintacora, on the opposite side of the river)." Mirjan or Mergen seems to have been more important at that time, though now insignificant. Beitkūl, another port in the same neighbourhood, has also fallen into disuse, and has been sometimes confused with Bhatkal. (Batecala, § 78; v. *Cathay* [Y. and C.], IV, p. 72).

² Mergen in the Portuguese text should no doubt be read Mergen and may be identified with the modern Mirjan, which is shown in the map in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (1911) as situated on an inlet south of Ankola, on the Gangawāli River and north of Honāwar. The name is given in the form Mergen in a letter from Afonso Mexia, Captain of Cochim, to the King of Portugal, dated 1530 (Danvers, I, 409). In this letter he says, "Between Baticola and Goa there are certain places called Onor, Mergen and Ancola," and adds that "they are under the Queen of Guarçoppa, who is a vassal of the King of Narsynga." The Spanish and Ramusio have further developed Mergen into Mergeo.

The kingdom of Garçoppa is mentioned by other Portuguese writers and the name is preserved in the Falls of Garçoppa (the most celebrated waterfall in India), on the river which falls into the sea at Honāwar.

gathered great store of black rice, very coarse, which the Malabares come hither to purchase for the poorer people. They carry it away in small *zambuquos*, and in exchange therefor they bring coconuts, and the oil obtained therefrom, and a great quantity of *jagara*,¹ all of which is consumed in this country.

§ 77. HONOR.

AFTER passing Mergen² on the coast there is another river; on which is a fine town called Honor.³ The inhabitants speak the language of the country, but the Malabares call it Poncuaram. Here the Malabares

¹ *Jagara* is the term used for the coarse sugar made from palm-sap. According to Yule, various palms are used for this purpose, but in the district here described it is doubtless the cocoanut palm. In the bazaars of Northern India the term *Jāgrī* is not confined to palm sugar, but is used for any unrefined sugar. The Portuguese form is from the Malayālam *chakkharā* (*Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Jaggery*).

² Here the Spanish version has incorrectly, "Having passed this river Aliga," viz., the Liga River left behind at Cintacora. Ramusio gives it correctly as "the river Mergeo."

³ Honor is the usual form of this name in the Portuguese works of this period, Onor being sometimes found. The modern form is Honāwar, which is identified in meaning with another place of the same name in the Bellary District; the meaning is supposed to be Golden village, from the Canarese *honnu* "gold" and *ūru*, "village." As Canarese is the prevailing language in both places, this is probably correct. (*Hobson-Jobson*, Crooke's Ed., s.v. Honor.) Barbosa mentions another name for Honor given it by the Malabārī merchants; *Poncuaram*, Spanish *Povaran*, Ramusio *Ponaran* (misprinted as *Ponouaram* in the quotation in *Hobson-Jobson*). This is no doubt a Malayālam word.

Vincent's identification of Honāwar with the Naura of the *Periplus* has not been supported by modern commentators, and there seems no special ground for it beyond the similarity in the sound of the names (*Schoff's Periplus*, p. 204). Honāwar was well known to the Arab writers. Abu'l-fida mentions it as a good port, and alludes to its Muhammadan colony.

Ibn Batūta visited Honāwar three times, and gives the name as Hunāwar. He found it a flourishing place under a Muhammadan ruler, lived some time with the Sultān Jamālu'd-din, and joined him in an attack on Sindābūr (p. 170, n. 2). He also notes that it fell off after the attack on Sindābūr, which was retaken by the Hindus. It afterwards fell under the power of the Rājās of Vijayanagar who expelled the Musalman inhabitants in 1479 (see § 73, l.c.).

carry on a great trade, taking away great store of black rice (as at Mergen), and bringing in return coconuts and the oil obtained therefrom, and palm-sugar and palm-wine " and everything in great abundance, and yearly a multitude of *zambuquos*, both great and small, come for this trade; for much rice is consumed in Malabar by reason, that it is their chief diet—and in this town of Honor there were two heathen pirates maintained by the lord of this land,¹ one of whom they call Timoja and the other Raogy, each of whom had five or six large ships with crews of well-armed men in great numbers: these issuing forth to the sea took all the ships they met (saving only those of Malabar) and robbed them of whatsoever they carried, leaving

¹ This passage, containing the story of the pirate chiefs, is omitted in the Spanish version and by Ramusio. The story is also told in detail by De Barros, and many particulars can be gathered from the *Commentaries of Afonso D'Albuquerque*, and also from his correspondence. The Portuguese had made the acquaintance of Timoja on Vasco da Gama's first expedition. He formed the intention of attacking the fleet when it anchored off Anjediva on the return voyage, but his boats were driven off by gunfire. On Da Gama's second voyage also some of Timoja's ships were driven into Honāwar harbour and burnt there (1502).

De Barros describes also the dealings of Francisco D'Almeida with Timoja at an earlier period (1505) (*Dec. I*, viii, Ch. 9, f. 169 (b)). He went to Honāwar with the object of burning Timoja's pirate ships and galleys, and not of destroying the town. Timoja was a Marātha, and an enemy of the rulers of Bijāpur, and soon submitted to the Portuguese when he found that they were about to attack the Musalmāns. He did them good service both under Almeida and Albuquerque, and was well rewarded for it. He was much employed during the operations at Goa; was at one time suspected of treachery, but after being dismissed from his office as thānadar, was again re-instated, to the delight of the Hindu population, who regarded him as their champion against the Musalmāns. He may in fact be regarded as to a certain extent a predecessor of Sivaji. His brother, here called Raogy (Rāo-Ji), is named Mīr Rāo or Mīr Rāy by Danvers, following Correa (?). He succeeded Timoja on his death in 1512. Possibly there has been some confusion with Marlaō, the brother of the King of Goa (*Commentaries*, III, 26, 27). This name is given by Whiteway (*Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, p. 140) in the form Malhār Rāo, which is certainly a probable Marāthi form. According to Albuquerque's letters Timoja was poisoned by him.

The Portuguese took possession of Honāwar from its Mīr Rānī or "Queen" in 1509, but lost it afterwards. An interesting account of the events which led to its recapture by Venkatappa Nayak is given by Pietro della Valle in 1623 (*H. J.*, Ed. II, 202, 216 ff.).

the men alive ; and they shared the stolen goods with the lord of the land to obtain his favour ; and in this wise they lived, gathering great riches and established in the land. They were natives of the Daquem kingdom, and came thence to this town in order not to be subject to the Moors from whom they had freed themselves. But since the fleets of the King our Lord have sailed the Indian seas they have not dared any more to act thus."

§ 78. BATICALA.

ADVANCING further along the coast after passing the river of Honor, there is another river of no great size on which stands a fine town called Baticala,¹ where

¹ The Baticala of the Portuguese is the Bhatkal of modern times, a port in the district of North Kanara (Bombay Presidency) (Lat. $13^{\circ} 59' N.$, Long. $74^{\circ} 32' E.$). It had long been a place of some importance, and is mentioned (under the name Batigala) by Friar Jordanus (1328) as the capital of a Musalmān "King" (*Travels of F. Jordanus*, p. 41). Yet Ibn Batūta at about the same period, although he travelled much about this coast and was familiar with Honāwar and Calicut, does not mention Bhatkal, nor do the other Arab geographers allude to it. Probably it was a subordinate principality under Honāwar. It appears to have shared the fate of Honāwar when the latter was retaken by the Hindūs of Vijayanagar in 1479 *exp.*, and most of the Muhammadans went to Goa. These people were known as Navāyats (Naiteas of Portuguese writers), and according to local legend they were the descendants of Sunnī refugees driven out of Persia by the Shi'as in the eighth century. This would have been equivalent to the second century of the Hijra, and any expulsion by Shi'as at that period seems improbable, but the colony was evidently well established at Honāwar and Bhatkal in the fourteenth century. Garcia de Orta (*Colloquies*, p. 445), speaking of Bacaim says, "The Moors were originally lords over it, but now there are few there, only those who trade by sea and are called NAITEAS, what we call mestizos, descended from the Moors who intermarried with the people of the land." Since 1479 A.D. when the Musalmān colony was expelled, it had been part of the kingdom of Vijayanagar, with the rest of the territory now included in North Kanara (Bombay) and South Kanara (Madras). The Portuguese established a factory here in 1503. Bhatkal plays an important part in the Portuguese history for the next two centuries.

Varthema, in 1510, after leaving the city of Decan, *i.e.*, Bijapur, returned to the coast to a town which he calls Bhatkala, a very noble city of India. It was not a seaport, and was about a mile from the sea. Thence he went to the island of Anjediva whence he returned

there is great traffic in goods of divers sorts. There dwell both Moors and Heathen, all given to trade. Many ships come hither every year from Ormus to get cargoes of white rice (great store) and powdered sugar (of which this land has great plenty). They know not how to make it into loaves, and they wrap it up in small packets, as it is in powder: an arroba of this sugar is worth 240 reis¹ more or less. They also take many cargoes of iron, and these three kinds of goods are the principal cargoes they get here. There is also some pepper and spices which the Malabares bring hither from India.² Here is great store of myrobalans³ of good quality, and of these they make

to the mainland at Centacola (Cintacora, *q.v.*). Badger, in his notes to the Hak. Soc. edition of *Varthema's Travels* (p. 119), considers this place to be identical with Baitkūl on the Kālinadi, and no other identification fits in with its geographical position close to Anjediva Island, and Cintacora, and north of Honāwar. In *Hobson-Jobson* (*s.v.* Batcul, etc.) the opinion is expressed that Varthema's Bathacala must be Bhatkal and not Baitkūl "though misplaced." It is not easy however to disregard Varthema's precise indications of its position, and his statement that it was not a seaport, which certainly does not apply to Bhatkal. Barbosa's account makes it clear that the latter was a seaport with a considerable trade with Hurmuz and the Malabar ports. The succession to the rulership of Bhatkal and the neighbourhood seems to have been in the female line. Thus in the *Tombo do Estado da India* (1554), p. 243, we find a contract made "with the Queen of Batecalaa, for that there was no king and that she ruled the kingdom," and Linschoten (1596) says "This land belongeth to a Queene named Batycola which is a town not far from thence inwards, it is she that selleth the pepper, etc." This "queen" was probably identical with the queen of Gersoppa alluded to in § 77, note.

* ¹ Here the arroba may be taken as 28 lb. (p. 157, n. 1); 240 reis were equal to 5s. 7d. of modern English money (see p. 191, n. 1), so the powdered sugar sold at 2½d. per lb.

² The use of *India* here as denoting only the Malabar country is very peculiar. It is evident that the word was popularly used by the Portuguese to denote the part of India with which they first became acquainted, *vis.*, the ports of Calicut, Cochin and Cannanore. At the present day Goa is often spoken of as India.

³ These were probably the "Black" or "Indian" myrobalans. See the exhaustive article (by A. C. Burnell) in *Hobson-Jobson*. In connection with the preserving of myrobalans the passage from Pegolotti there quoted (*Pegolotti*, p. 377) is of interest. He says that the myrobalans are kept in earthen pots in a syrup of *Cassia fistula*; this appears

a conserve in order to sell them to the Moors of Arabia and Persia, who buy them at a good price. The Ormus ships, which, as I have said, come hither every year, bring horses¹ in great numbers, and many pearls, which they sell here to the Kingdom of Narsyngua, but now on account of our armies they take them to Goa, with many other kinds of merchandize.² A few ships belonging to the Moors of Meca also venture to come to this spot to take in loads of spices, notwithstanding that by the rules and orders of our people, they are forbidden so to do. The *zambucos* of Malabar come hither yearly for loads of iron and sugar, and themselves bring palm-sugar, coconuts (and the oil got therefrom), palm-wine, pepper (great store), and sundry other drugs, whereof they hide and carry away some with great secrecy, and other some they take under licence from the Captains of our Forts. This place is very rich and a great revenue is collected from it by the King and the Governour whom he keeps here, called Damachate,³

to be the sweet black pulp used as an aperient in India, which is obtained from the pods of the *Cassia fistula* (the beautiful yellow-flowered tree often called the Indian Laburnum). Possibly the myrobalans had their astringent properties corrected by the syrup they were preserved in.

¹ The Deccan countries were dependent for good horses on the trade with the Persian Gulf, both the 'Adilshāhis and the Kings of Vijayanagar competing to get the control of the supply. The capture of Hurmuz and Goa by Albuquerque gave the Portuguese the power to divert the whole trade to the latter place and to make their own terms with the rival powers. (See R. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 1900, pp. 126-128).

² With this passage may be compared Barbosa's complaint in his letter to Dom Manoel regarding the neglect to take the ships trading from Calicut to Mecca. (Intro. p. viii.)

³ The Spanish version and Ramusio call this Governor a "Gentile" and give his name as Damaqueti. It is very improbable that he was really a "Moor" or Muhammadan, as the Portuguese text says. The name Damachate is no doubt Hindū and not Muhammadan. It may stand for Dāma Sēthī, or Chēti, the first part being a contracted form of Dāmodar, and the latter meaning "banker," often used as an honorary title by Hindūs of the mercantile class; Chetty in South India.

a Moor of great wealth, possessing money and very fine jewels in great abundance. The King of Narsyngua has bestowed this place upon a nephew of his together with other regions hard by. He is a great lord, and keeps up a magnificent establishment. His name is Reimas,¹ and in all things he is obedient to his uncle of Narsyngua. In the country they show as much obedience to the Governour as to him. They are accustomed to challenge one another to duels,² and when a challenge has been accepted, and the king gives his permission, the day for the duel is fixed by the persons challenged, and the weapons to be used must be according to measure ; that of the one of the same length as that of the other. The king appoints seconds and a field for the fight, and when this has been done, they go thither naked, covered only with some cloth wrapped round their middles,³ with very cheerful faces. Then after saying their prayers they begin to fight, and as they are bare it is over in a few strokes in the presence of the King and his court. No man may

¹ This passage is quoted by Mr. Sewell (*A Forgotten Empire*, p. 129) from the Spanish version (with which Ramusio agrees) in which the nephew of the king of Vijayanagar is said to have called himself "king." This is not in accordance with the Portuguese text. The first syllable of the proper name Reimas given by Barbosa was evidently confused by the translators with "Rei," a king. It is evident that any assumption by him of a royal title would have been impossible.

² The duel as an institution is not common in the East ; and it would not be easy to find another well-authenticated instance of its existence. Its recognition by the State in Vijayanagar is confirmed by Fernão Nuniz in his *Chronicle*, translated by Mr. Sewell in his history of the Vijayanagar monarchy (*A Forgotten Empire*, p. 383). See also Marco Polo's account of duels at Cael (Kāyal) on the Coromandel Coast (Yule's *Marco Polo* 1870, II, 306). Yule in his note 4 on this passage threw some doubt on the passage in Ramusio giving Barbosa's account, as a possible interpolation. But it does not differ in any important point from the Portuguese text.

³ Here the Spanish version adds "and with their arms, which are swords, bucklers and daggers." Ramusio has the same with the exception of daggers, but the Portuguese does not name any weapons.

Speak to them while they are fighting, except the seconds, each of whom stands by his own man: and this is such a common practice among them, that some are slain daily.

Here they formerly paid tribute to the King our Lord, but of late they have ceased to pay and rather do us all the mischief they can.

This place stands on flat ground, well-peopled and well-worked, but there is no wall around it. Near by are many excellent gardens and pleasant groves of fruit trees and fair streams of water. *Pardaos*¹ are current there, that is to say, the gold coin of the kingdom. They are worth here 320 reis. Their principal weights are *bahares*, each of which weighs four quintals, as I have already said. Besides the goods, which, as I have said above, are dealt in here, much copper is also used and taken inland for coinage, also for cooking pots and other vessels, used by the country people. Much quicksilver, vermillion dye, coral, alum and ivory (which is here of great value) are also dealt in at this place.

¹ The gold coins of the Vijayanagar dynasty, called by the Portuguese *Pardaos* (from the Sanskrit term *Pratāpa*) are described by Sir Walter Elliot and Mr. E. Thomas in *The Coins of Southern India*, 1885, pp. 96-98 and Pl. iii. They are found of two weights, averaging about 52 and 26 grains. Of these the heavier coin is that valued by Barbosa at 320 reis. In the *Livro dos Pesos da Yndia* (1554), the *pardao* is valued at 360 *reis*, which no doubt denotes a decline in the value of the *real* in the forty years which had elapsed since Barbosa wrote. The *cruzado* of Barbosa's time has been calculated from actual weights of coins still existing at 9s. 9d. (p. 65, n. 1), and consisted of 420 reis (worth about .28d. each at that period); and the *pardao* may thus be considered as worth 7s. 5½d. in modern English money. This value is slightly higher for the *cruzado* than that arrived at in the excellent article *Pardao* in *Hobson-Jobson*; but the difference is not great, being based on a slight variation in the value of the *real*, which I find to be .28d. instead of .268d. as there calculated. In spite of 'Abdu'r-Razzāk's statement I think it impossible to consider the *varāha* as the double of the *pardão*, which, according to Varthema, contained twenty and not ten fanams. Barbosa, who for many years was a writer engaged in business on the Malabar coast, is a thoroughly good authority in a matter of this sort.

§ 79. MAJANDUR.

FURTHER in advance along the coast towards Malabar is another small river on which stands a good-sized town which they call Majandur,¹ pertaining to the seignory of Baticala, where abundance of very good rice is reaped, and from this place comes almost all that is taken on board at Baticala. All round they sow it in valleys and flats covered with water, for it is sown and reaped in water: they plough the land as we do with oxen and buffaloes yoked in pairs, and the ploughshare has a hollow in it wherein the rice is carried when the land is flooded,² and as the share ploughs the rice goes on settling down under water and earth. On dryland they sow by hand. And every year this land bears two crops; the first and best is *giraçal*, the second is called *açal*. There is another which they call *quavagas* and another *pachary*, and each of these differs from the rest in price.³

¹ Majandur is given in the Spanish and in Ramusio as Mayandūr, and appears in this form in Ribero's map. D'Abbeville's map of 1652 also shows it, but at some distance from the coast. It has disappeared from modern maps. Majandur was evidently a fertile plain near Bhatkal, and supplied most of the rice sold at that port. In the *Tombo do Estado da Índia* (p. 247), in the list of ports which paid duties in rice to the King of Portugal, the following occurs:

"Item—From the River of Bendor which is near Baticala 300 fardos of rice may be collected." This Bendor is evidently identical with Majandur, and appears in some modern maps as Bydor or Bedor. Possibly the true form was Bayadūr. See also the list of towns on the west coast of India given by De Barros, *Dec. I*, ix. 1, f. 174, where Bendor comes between Baticala and Bracelor.

² The method of sowing by a drill in the ploughshare is remarkable. In many parts of Northern India a primitive drill is also used, but it consists of a hollow bamboo attached to the share and not of a hollow in the share itself.

³ The names of the different kinds of rice are variously given. Barbosa's spellings have been here corrected, *ç* being read for *c*, as the omission of the Cedilla (or *vice versa*) is common.

Portuguese.

1. Giraçal.

2. Açal.

3. Quavagas.

4. Pachary.

Spanish.

Girazat (Girazal).

Jani basal

or Jani basal.

Canagar.

Pachari.

Ramusio.

Giracalli.

Iambucal.

Canacar.

Pacharil.

§ 80. BACANOR AND BRAÇALOR.

YET further advancing along the coast beyond Majandur, there are two small rivers, on which stand two towns, the one called Bacanor¹ and the other Braçalor, which pertain to the kingdom of Naryngua

Linschoten (I, 245) gives *Giresall* as the name for the best rice at Goa, and *Chambasal* as that of a rather poorer and cheaper kind. This second kind is also mentioned as *chanbaçal* in S. Botelho's *Tombo do Estado da India* (1554), p. 243 (Subsidios para a *Historia da India Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1868), where it is noted that the king (or rather Queen) of Baticalaa has to pay a yearly tribute of 1,000 fardos of *Chanbaçal* rice. These names are, according to Burnell's notes to the passage in Linschoten, derived from the Marāthī; *Giraçal* is *jiresāl* or "like cummin" from the smell resembling that of *zira* or cummin. He adds "the name is also in use in the Tamil country, it apparently first occurs in Castanheda (Bk. ii, ch. 102) in Canarese." Barbosa's word also seems to be from the Canarese, which is spoken at Bhatkal, and is of earlier date than Castanheda's.

Açal is evidently a truncated form, the full word being *chambaçal* for the native word *Sambāsāl* which Burnell says (*l.c.*) "is a name (for a kind of white rice sown in July and harvested in January) common in all the countries of South India; it is not clear what its origin or meaning is." The alternative form given in Stanley's note, *Jani basal* (read *Javi basal*), suggests a possible origin from Java.

The third name, which may perhaps be read as *cavagar*, has not been traced elsewhere.

The fourth *pachary* suggests the Hindi *pichhāri*, the last or hindmost, and may possibly be a Kōṅkani name for a late crop.

There is an allusion to these varieties of Rice in Correa, Vol. I, p. 694 (1507). The King of Baticala sent D. Lourenço D'Almeida a thousand *fardos* of *chāobaçal* rice and a thousand of *giraçal*.

¹ *Bacanor and Braçalor*. Here, as frequently happens, the cedilla is omitted in the text, Bracalor being the form given. Bracelor is frequently found in early Portuguese writers. It should be mentioned before Bacanor to give the geographical order in travelling from the north.

The earliest mention of these two places, which are often coupled together, is that of Ibn Baṭūṭa, who approached them from Honāwar, *i.e.*, from the north. He turns Barcelor (which really represents the Canarese *Basarūru*, "the town of the waved fig-tree," but possibly the original is Tulu), into the quasi-Arabic form *Abū Sarūr*, and describes it as a small town on a large inlet abounding in coconut palms. Abulfida, at about the same period, also speaks of *Basarūr*, a small town. Ibn Baṭūṭa then went on to the more important town of Bācānor or Fākanūr as he calls it. He found a Musalmān colony there, but its ruler was a Hindū called Bāsadaḡ, *i.e.*, Vāsudeva. The name Fākanūr or Bacanor seems (according to Burnell in *Hobson-Jobson*) to represent Vakkanūr, the Malayālam name of the place which is called Bārūr in Canarese, the local language. It may also, with great probability, be identified with the Pachampurā of Niccolò Conti (*India in Fifteenth Century*, Conti, p. 6), whence he travelled inland to Vijayanagar, probably through Bhatkal. When the Portuguese arrived in India it

in this its province of Tolinate. Here is much good rice, which grows in the lands thereby, and many ships from abroad, and many as well of Malabar, take in cargoes thereof, and (after it has been husked and cleaned and packed in bales¹ of its own straw, all of the same measure, to wit, each bale containing four alqueires and a half and worth from a hundred and fifty to two hundred reis) take it away. Great store thereof they carry hence to Ormus, Aden, Xaer, Cananor and Calecut, and they barter it for copper, coconuts (and the oil thereof), and molasses; but in Malabar they use it more than elsewhere, for the Malabares have no other food; and albeit the country is but small, yet is it so fulfilled of people, that it may well be called one town from Mount Dely even to Coulam.²

had become a vassal state of Vijayanagar (*A Forgotten Empire*, p. 374), and was, as Barbosa notes, included in the province of Tuluñāda or Tolinate, the "Tulu country."

It was one of the places passed, if not actually visited by Vasco da Gama on his first voyage. He is said by De Barros and in the *Roteiro* to have erected a memorial pillar or *padrão* in the name of Santa Maria on a small island between Bacanor and Baticala, one of five which he erected on that voyage (*Dec. I*, iv, 11, f. 81). This however is not mentioned by Correa.

The place is frequently mentioned by later travellers and is undoubtedly the *Barikur* of modern times (Lat. 13° 28' N.), a place now of little importance, but described in the *Imperial Gazetteer* as the site of an ancient city, once the capital of the Jain kings of Tuluva, and afterwards held by Vijayanagar.

¹ These *fardos* or bales are alluded to by Linschoten in his account of the products of the Malabar coast. In the English translation the Dutch form *farden* is used for the plural and *fardo* for the singular. "There is rice, which they sell by the Farden: it is brought in round bundels wrapped in strawe, and bounde about with cordes: everie Fardo is commonly three Hands (*i.e.*, maunds) and a halfe." (Linschoten, I, 245). In a note Mr. Burnell remarks that these bundles are still used in Kanara, under the name of *Corge* (see p. 161, n. 2).

Vieyra's *Dict.*, s.v. *fardo*, says that the *fardo* weighs 42 Portuguese pounds, and the *alqueire* he estimates to contain 1 peck 3 quarts 1 pint.

² The coast of the Kanara District is still very densely inhabited. "Even including their very sparsely inhabited and malarious inland villages the coast *talukas* return over 1,100 inhabitants per square mile of cultivated land" (*Bombay Census Report*, 1911, § 25).

§ 81. MANGALOR.¹

[PASSING by the two places above-named we find a great and very fair river, which discharges its waters into the sea, and here hard by the coast, towards the south, is a very great town, wherein dwell both Moors and Heathen of the aforesaid kingdom of Narsinga, named Mangalor,² where many ships take cargoes of black rice, which is better and more wholesome than the white, to sell in the land of Malabar, and it can be got good cheap. Cargoes of this rice are likewise

¹ This section regarding Mangalor is not found in the Portuguese MS. and was inserted by the Portuguese editors from Ramusio's text; as their translation varies slightly from the original I have here translated directly from the Italian.

It will be noticed that the style differs from Barbosa's, and departs from his usual introductory formula. The opinion that the black rice is better and more wholesome than the white is certainly not his, as in the very next section, under Cumbola, he says that the black rice is very bad (*muyto ruim*), and puts down its popularity among the poor solely to its cheapness.

The corresponding section to this in Lord Stanley's version agrees with Ramusio's in every point, and it is clear that the Italian was taken from the Spanish, using *mezzo di* instead of the more usual *mezzo giorno* for "south" in imitation of the Spanish *medio-dia*.

² Mangalor was one of the best known ports of S. India in ancient days, and is identified by Sir H. Yule with Manganour mentioned by Ptolemy in vii, 1, 86, among the places between the Pseudostomus and Baris rivers in N. lat. 18° 40'. McCrindle, however, reads this Mastanour. A more certain identification is that with the Mangaruth of Cosmas Indicopleustes in the sixth century, who mentions it as one of the principal pepper-ports (Yule-Cordier, *Cathay*, I, 228; *Cosmas*, p. 367). In the Catalan map of 1375 it appears as Manganor (*Ib.* I, 309). In the early part of the fourteenth century it was visited by Ibn Batūta (IV, p. 79), who describes it as a large town trading in pepper and ginger with the merchants of Persia and Yemen, and situated on a bay which he calls Ad-Dumb, "the greatest bay in the land of Malibār." Abdu'r-Razzāk, in the middle of the fifteenth century, made it the starting point for his journey inland to Vijayanagar, and calls it the frontier town of that kingdom (*India in the Fifteenth Century*, Abd. p. 20).

It does not, however, seem to have attracted the attention of the early Portuguese visitors. It is casually mentioned by Thomé Lopez (*Vegetação das Índias Orientaes*, Ch. 19), as the home of certain "Christians" who sent a deputation to Vasco da Gama on his second voyage towards the end of 1502. The Mangalor of Sôrath (§ 52) attracted greater notice at that period.

It was not till 1529 that the Portuguese, under Diogo da Silveira, attacked and took it on the ground that although it belonged to the Vijayanagar kingdom, it was under the control of a "Chatim," i.e.

taken in many ships of the Moors to Adem ; and of pepper as well, which the country from here onwards begins to produce, but only a small quantity, better than any other kind ; I mean that which the Malabaris take thither in small craft. The said river is very pleasant and beautiful, full of groves of coconut palms, and thickly peopled with Heathen and Moors, with fair buildings and many very great and wealthy houses of worship of the Heathen which have a great revenue. There are also many mosques where they honour their Macometto.]

§ 82. CUMBOLA.

ALONG the coast, towards Malabar, is another town of the same kingdom and province which is called Cumbola.¹ Here is garnered a great abundance of

a Chetty or Hindu banker, who was in league with Calcut, and conducted an underhand trade with the Red Sea (De Barros, *IV*, v, p. 7).

Tombo do Estado da India (1554), p. 247, mentions three ports on the Mangalor River which pay duty in rice.

Pietro della Valle (*II*, 300, 301, n. 1) gives a very good description of the port of Mangalor in his day (1623). He describes it as "in the mouth of two rivers," i.e., the Bolor and the Balure.

In modern times Mangalor is the principal port for the export of coffee from Mysore and Coorg, but owing to the exposed nature of the roadstead the trade comes to a stop during the south-west monsoon.

In the article on Mangalore in *Hobson-Jobson* it is pointed out that the names of this Mangalor, of that in Kāthiāwār, and of the place generally known as Manglaur in the mountain district between Swāt and Chitrāl, are all identical in origin, and may be traced to a form Maṅgala-pura, said to be derived from Maṅgala, "gladness." Mr. Crooke has added a note to the effect that the name of the Malabar town is said to be taken from the temple of Maṅgalā Dēvī. Maṅgala, however, was the name of the planet Mars (from whom Mangalwār or Tuesday takes its name), and as the name is an ancient one and Maṅgala was worshipped as a god, it is probable that towns may have been named after him.

¹ The name of Cumbola is spelt Cumbala in the Spanish version and Ramusio. De Barros mentions it in the form "Cumbata" in his list of the places between the Rivers Aliga and Cangerecora (or Canherecora, probably Chamdragiri), as belonging to the province of Canarā under the King of Bisnagā. The list ends thus: "Mangalor, Mangelran,

very bad black rice, which the Malabares come hither to purchase, and to take away in their *zambuquos*, to sell to the lower sort of people, who buy it readily, as it is good cheap, and by it they make more than by the good rice. They also take much thereof to the Maldive Islands, which lie over against Malabar,¹ as the inhabitants are poor Moors, who, by reason of its lower price, would rather have the black than the white. They give it to them in exchange for *cairo*,² which is a thread used for making cables and ropes; it is made out of the husks of coconut, and much of it is made here. It is a very safe article of trade everywhere. This town of Cumbola is under a Lord who commands and governs it, appointed by the King of Narsyngua. It is the frontier town next to the kingdom of Cananor. Here ends the kingdom of Narsyngua, on the coast of the province of Tolinate.³

Cumbata and Cangerecora, by which runs a river of the same name, which is the terminus and boundary, as will be seen below." He has already stated that the river of Cangerecora is five leagues north of Mount Deli.

It is not given in Ribero's map of 1529, but it appears in the modern form of Kumblah in Keith Johnston (see *Cathay*, iv, 74). The Coload of Rennell there mentioned, though not shown in his map of 1782, appears in the later edition, and is given in the General Index in the Memoir of 1793. It appears to correspond with Cumbola in position.

¹ This trade would appear to have been with the Laccadive rather than the Maldiv Islands, for the former are in about the same latitude as Cumbola, while the Maldives lie far to the south. Probably both groups were included under the name Maldiv.

² For *Cairo* or coir-fibre see p 27, n. 1. The origin of this term is from the Malayālam language as there shown, and as Barbosa was one of the few Portuguese acquainted with this language, it is probable that his mention of this fibre under this name is the first instance of its use in Portuguese. As the Laccadives and Maldives abound in the coconut palm the fibre would be obtained there in abundance.

³ It is evident that when Barbosa wrote the Malabar kingdoms of Calicut, Cananor and Cochin, were independent of Vijayanagar. Barbosa's long residence in those countries makes him a good authority on this point.

83. OF THE KINGDOM OF NARSYNGUA PROPERLY SO-CALLED, AND OF ITS GREATNESS.¹

FURTHER along the coast, and taking the road leading inland, at a distance of fifteen or twenty leagues, is a high and rugged country very hard to cross, which stretches from the beginning of the kingdom of Narsyngua as far as the Cape of Comorim which is beyond the land of Malabar, and here, in the land of Tolinate, are many low-lying lands between the mountains and the sea. The Moors of these parts say that in ancient days the sea reached even to the foot of the mountains and covered the low land, and that in the course of time it departed, and the land in which they live was left uncovered. They also aver that even now the marks of shells and other marine objects may be seen at certain places along the mountains, inso-much that the sea seems to have reached those spots.² Beyond these mountains on the further side, the land is flat and level, while from the hither side,³ so difficult is the ascent that it is like mounting to the

¹ In this and the following section the author collects all the information he was able to give regarding the kingdom of Vijayanagar or Narsinga, as it was universally called by the Portuguese writers of the sixteenth century. On reaching the northern limits of the coast districts of this country he gave, in § 75, a statement of the provinces of which it consisted, and now, before crossing the southern frontier, he gives in this section an account of its natural features, and in § 84 a very full statement on the manners and customs of the people.

² The description of the country here is very accurate, the nature of the low-lying country between the mountains and the sea, the steep and difficult western slope of the Ghâts, and the high and comparatively level plateau which lies on the eastern side of them are clearly brought out.

³ Hither side, i.e., the side towards the Indian Ocean, with which the Portuguese were most familiar. Barbosa distinctly asserts the independence of the Malabar kingdoms, and gives as the reason that the difficulty of the mountain passes made their territory inaccessible although their intervention between the inland provinces and the sea made them an object much coveted by the powerful monarchs of Vijayanagar. Calicut was certainly independent when Albuquerque attacked it in the beginning of 1510, and we are told in the *Commentaries* (II, 73) that after his repulse he tried to induce the

sky, and so rough is it that men can only pass through it by certain places and passes; wherefore the kings of Malabar are so independent, for had these mountains not stood in his way, the King of Narsyngua would ere now have subdued them, "inasmuch as the land of Malabar stretches from the mountains to the sea, and for this reason they have no access to it."

Much timber grows there, and there are many wild beasts of the mountains, to wit, wild boars, deer, ounces, leopards, tigers and bears, and certain ash-coloured animals like camels, so swift that no man may kill them. There are as well serpents which fly in the air, whereof of the mere breath and aspect are so deadly as to stay any man who comes near them, which serpents alight on trees or wheresoever they will.¹ Also there are many wild elephants.

King of Vijayanagar to attack Calicut, "for his kingdom touches that of Calicut, and the two kings are not very friendly." These overtures do not seem to have had any immediate result. A similar state of things had been reported by 'Abdu'r-Razzāk in 1443 A.D. (*India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 19). He says that the Samūri was not subject to Vijayanagar but paid it respect and dreaded it because of its power. The inclusion of Calicut by Nuniz among the subject chiefs, as noticed above (p. 182, n. 2), cannot be considered as proving anything more than ordinary diplomatic relations. There is no record of any war against Calicut, nor do the Vijayanagar Rajas seem to have been engaged in any wars except those against the Musalmān monarchies to the north, and the rulers of Telingana and Orissa.

The small principalities of the Kanara seaboard comprised in Barbosa's "Province of Tolinate" were on a different footing, and were undoubtedly subject to Vijayanagar, and so was the Rāja of Bankāpur, but it is probable that Nuniz was mistaken in including Calicut in the same category. (See Mr. Sewell's translation of the *Chronicle of Fernão Nuniz in A Forgotten Empire*, p. 374, also p. 122 of the same work.)

¹ Most of the animals here mentioned require no special notice. The ash-coloured beast resembling a camel is probably the antelope known as nil-gāi or blue-cow, the actual colour of which suggests ashes, and its clumsy gait the movement of a camel. The flying serpents with poisonous breath and hideous aspect are no doubt a creation of popular mythology, but it must be remembered that poisonous tree-snakes are not uncommon in the tropical forest districts of India. In Arabia also, in the frankincense tract of Hadhramaut, flying serpents were believed, as far back as the time of Herodotus, to guard the trees producing the incense, and there are other instances of tree-spirits taking the form of serpents.

Here are found many precious stones, hyacinths (jagonças), amethysts and certain soft sapphires found in the streams and rivers flowing through these mountains, "which abound in running waters." [These they take to sell in the towns of Malabar where they know how to work them.]

This kingdom of Narsyngua possesses many great cities, towns, villages and fortresses, and in the country there is much husbandry of rice, pease, beans and other pulse, also much breeding of goats, cows and sheep, and there are as well many small ponies, good walkers, asses and oxen, all of which they use as beasts of burden and for ploughing. All these villages and hamlets are inhabited by Heathen, among whom dwell a few Moors. Many places here belong to Lords who hold them from the King of Narsyngua, who in his own towns keeps his governors and collectors of his rents and duties.

§ 84. THE GREAT CITY OF BISNAGUA.

FORTY leagues ¹ (of this country) further inland there is a very great city called Bisnagua², wherein dwell

¹ The distance to the capital seems to be measured from the mountain range bounding the coast province to the east, and not from the coast itself, and to be calculated in the local variety of the *hōs*, which is probably intended by "leagues of this country." Ramusio has it is "a hundred and sixty miles from this mountain." The road, as described by Domingos Paes (*A Forgotten Empire*, p. 236), led from Bhatkal to the mountains and thence over level country past a town called Zambuja or Zambūr (which Mr. Sewell thinks is Sandūr, about 20 miles from Bhatkal and 25 from Vijayanagar). Paes puts the distance from Bhatkal to Zambūr at forty leagues; which would make the league equal to three miles, and Barbosa's forty leagues from the mountains to Vijayanagar would be 120 miles, or a good deal less than Ramusio's figure, which relates to the Italian mile of a varying measure, often approximating to the Roman mile of about 1618 yards. This would make the distance about 140 English miles according to him.

² Bisnaga is the form generally used by the Portuguese for the city of Vijayanagar, and represents rather the vulgar pronunciation of

folk without number; it is fenced about with strong ramparts and by a river as well, on the further side of a great chain of mountains. It stands on a very level plain. Here always dwells the king of Narsyngua, who is a Heathen and is called Rayen,¹

Bijanagar, no doubt prevalent at the time, and found in Firishta's history in a Persian transcription.

This great city had grown up in the two past centuries and had become the capital of an empire including most of the Hindū kingdoms south of the Krishna river, a full account of which, embodying all that can be gathered from the scanty records existing, has been given by Mr. R. Sewell in *A Forgotten Empire*, 1900, in which he has given translations of two Portuguese records, viz., the Narrative of Domingos Paes, and the Chronicle of Fernão Nuniz, both of which throw great light on the condition of Vijayanagar, the first between 1520 and 1522 and the second about fifteen years later.

¹ The King of Vijayanagar at this time was Krishna Dēva Rāyya, who succeeded to the throne in 1509. Rāyya is his title, corresponding to the more Northern form Rājā. Rayen is Barbosa's version of this title, and no doubt the king was familiarly spoken of as the Rāyya without his personal name. Later Portuguese writers such as Nuniz call him Crisnarao. Mr. Sewell (*A Forgotten Empire*, p. 129) in quoting this passage from Lord Stanley's version of the Spanish text, where it is given in the form Raheni, says "This name awaits explanation." He had not the Portuguese text before him, where its identity with Rāyya is clear. Ramusio carries the blunder further and turns it into Rasena, and it is surprising that someone has not propounded an Etruscan origin on the strength of this name!

He was a great and successful monarch and raised his kingdom to the leading position in Southern India. Even at the beginning of his reign, when Barbosa wrote, his power was very great, and it developed further after his great victory over the 'Adil-shāhis at Raichūr. These victories, as Mr. Sewell has remarked, led to presumption and arrogance in his successors and ultimately to their downfall at Tālikōta in 1565.

Krishnarāyya after one of his earlier expeditions against Orissa married the daughter of the king of that country, and afterwards a celebrated courtesan named Chinnadēvi with whom he had long been in love. His portrait statue still exists in bronze, and is preserved in the temple on Tirumalla hill, flanked on the right by that of the beloved Chinnadēvi and on the left by that of another wife Tirumaladēvi, probably, from her name, a member of his own family and not the king of Orissa's daughter. (See Mr. Krishna Sastri's article in the *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1911-12, especially the note on p. 189, and Pl. lxxvi.)

Another interesting monument of this time has been preserved at the great temple which still stands near the village of Hāmpī. This was erected to carry out the ancient ceremony of weighing the king against gold and jewels to commemorate some great event. It consists of two columns of granite with a cross-piece or transom at the top, in which are rings from which the scales were suspended. The event on this occasion was the taking of Kondavid in 1515. (See *Report Archaeological Survey of India* 1912-13, Pl. lxxxiv, and the paper by Mr. A. H. Longhurst; also *Hāmpī Ruins*, by A. H. Longhurst, Madras Government

and here he has great and fair palaces, in which he always lodges, with many enclosed courts and great houses very well built, and within them are wide open spaces, with water-tanks in great numbers, in which is reared abundance of fish. He also has gardens full of trees and sweet-scented herbs. In the city as well there are palaces after the same fashion, wherein dwell the great Lords and Governours thereof.

The other houses of the people are thatched, " but none the less are very well built and arranged according to occupations, in long streets with many open places."¹ And the folk here are ever in such numbers that the streets and places cannot contain them. There is great traffic and an endless number of merchants and wealthy men, as well among the natives of the city who abide therein as among those who come thither from outside, to whom the King allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed, without suffering any annoyance and without enquiry whether he is a Christian, " Jew," Moor or Heathen. Great equity and justice is observed to all, not only by the rulers, but by the people one to another. Here there is a diamond-mine as there is also in the kingdom of Daquem, whence are obtained many good diamonds; all other precious stones are brought hither for sale from Peguu and

Press, 1917.) A relief illustrating a similar ceremony where the king is shown seated in the scales suspended from a structure like that at Hampi is preserved in the Tanjore District and is illustrated in the same paper.

¹ The word used here and elsewhere in similar descriptions is *aruadas* (in modern spelling *arruadas*), i.e., arranged in *ruas* or streets. The words " according to occupation " are not expressed separately but are implied in the verb *arruar* according to Bluteau (1789) and Vleyra (1813). The allusion is to the allocation of trades and crafts each to its own quarter or *muhalla*, still prevalent in Indian towns.

Ceilam, and from Ormus [and Cael]¹ they bring pearls and seed-pearls. These precious stones circulate here more freely than elsewhere, because of the great esteem in which they are held [for they deck their persons with them, for which reason they collect here in great quantities]. Here also is used great store of the brocades of poorer quality brought for sale from China [and Alexandria],² [and much cloth dyed scarlet-in-grain and other colours and coral worked into paternosters and in branches],³ "also metals both wrought and unwrought," copper in abundance, quicksilver, vermilion, saffron, rosewater, great store of opium, sanders-wood, aloes-wood, camphor, musk (of which a great quantity is consumed yearly, as they use to anoint themselves therewith), and scented materials. Likewise much pepper is used here and everywhere throughout the kingdom, which they bring hither from Malabar on asses and pack-cattle.

All this merchandize is bought and sold by *pardaos*.⁴

¹ The name of Cael has been added by Ramusio to Barbosa's text, and is also found in the Spanish version. This is the town of Kāyal situated in Tinevely on the Gulf of Manār, now a small village at some distance from the sea. This identification was made by the Rev. D. Caldwell, whose note on the subject was embodied by Sir H. Yule in his *Marco Polo* (Ed. 1871, II, 307 ff.) It was celebrated for its pearl-fisheries (see below, § 97).

² Alexandria is added by Ramusio and the Spanish version. In the Portuguese text China is given as the only country from which these brocades came.

³ This passage is translated from Ramusio's Italian. It is not inserted by the Portuguese editors. The Spanish version has only "coral worked into round beads."

⁴ For the value of the gold *pardao*, see p. 191, n. 1. The quotation given in *Hobson-Jobson* from the Portuguese edition of Barbosa gives the value at 360 reis, but it should be 320, i.e., at Bhatkal (*valem aquy ha trezentos e uinte rs.*). Later on it was valued at 360 reis; see *Livro dos Pesos da Ymdia* (1554), pp. 61-63.

The Spanish version and Ramusio in § 78 follow the Portuguese text, giving the value at 320 *maravedis* at Bhatkal. The value of three hundred given in the interpolation here inserted from Ramusio is

[The gold coin, which they call *pardao* is worth three hundred *maravedis*] which are made in certain towns of this kingdom, [and over the whole of India they make use of this coin, which is current in all these kingdoms. The gold is rather base. The coin is round in form and is made with a die. Some of them have on one side Indian letters and on the other two figures, of a man and a woman, and others have only letters on one side]. "They are made more especially in a town called Hora,¹ from which they call them *horãos*; the value and fashion of which coins have been set forth above in many places. Those of this place are perfectly genuine, not one of them has been ever found false, nor is now so found, whereas many of other places are (false)."

evidently incorrect, and is no doubt taken from the value of the silver and not of the gold *pardao*. According to Lord Stanley's note on the Spanish version (p. 86) "the abbreviation is *m mrs*; this might stand for *ccc* or three hundred, the value given by Ramusio."

The passage given from Ramusio is quoted in a note by the Portuguese editors, and occurs also in the Spanish version. It is here translated direct from Ramusio's Italian. Those bearing the "figures of a man and of a woman" are the coins of the earlier Kuruba dynasty of Vijayanagar, which came to an end about 1488 A.D. The figures represent Siva and his consort Pārvatī. They do not appear on the coins of Krishna-Rāyya of the Narasinha dynasty who was Barbosa's contemporary. The 52-grain *kūns* were afterwards known as pagodas, and the smaller gold coins of 26 grains as half-pagodas. (Elliot, *Coins of S. India*, 1888, pp. 88-89, and Pl. III.)

¹ The passage which follows, relating to the genuineness of the coins struck in the kingdom of Vijayanagar, and to their mint, is found only in the Portuguese text. (It is quoted in *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd Ed., p. 677.) There does not appear to be any place of the name of *Hora*, and it may be guessed that it was an imaginary place, the name of the coin being supposed to denote its place of coinage. A clue will be found in the following passage from the Chronicle of Fernão Nuniz (*A Forgotten Empire*, p. 301): "On the death of that king Bucarão there came to the throne his son called Pureoyre Deorão which in Canara means powerful lord, and he coined a money of *pardaos* which even now they call "*purouye deorão*." The name of this king was, as Mr. Sewell has shown, Harihara Dēvarāya; and it is evident that certain *pardaos* were called after him *dēvarāya* or *dēorão*. This word *dēorão* was mistaken by the Portuguese for *de Hora* "of Hora," which was supposed to be the name of the mint-town. They were most probably struck in Vijayanagar itself.

[CUSTOMS OF THE KINGDOM OF NARSINGA AND OF THE
INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRY].

The King seldom goes forth from this city, he dwells therein with great luxury and without any trouble, for he passes on all the governance of the realm to his Governours. The natives of this land are Heathen like himself; they are tawny men, nearly white. Their hair is long, straight and black. The men are of good height with "physnomies"¹ like our own: the women go very trimly clad; their men wear certain clothes as a girdle below, wound very tightly in many folds, and short white shirts of cotton or silk or coarse brocade, which are gathered between the thighs but open in front: on their heads they carry small turbans, and some wear silk or brocade caps, they wear their rough shoes on their feet [without stockings].² They wear also other large garments thrown over their shoulders like capes, and are accompanied by pages walking behind them with their swords in their hands. The substances with which they are always anointed are these: white sanders-wood, aloes, camphor, musk and saffron, all ground fine and kneaded with rosewater. With these they anoint themselves after bathing, and so they are always very highly scented. They wear many rings set with precious stones and many earrings set with fine pearls in their ears. As well as the page, armed with a

¹ I have ventured to translate *phylosamias* by this piece of old English cant. The Portuguese word is no doubt intended for *physiognomias* "physiognomies."

² *Abarques* or *abarcas* are rough shoes of raw hide, like the *Alpargatas* of Spain. Here it is applied to the common shoe of India. The word *alparca* is used for a sandal properly speaking. The words "without stockings" are from Ramusio. The Spanish version says "with sandals on their bare feet," but there is no mention of this in the Portuguese text.

sword, whom, as I have said, they take with them, they take also another who holds an umbrella (lit. a shade-hat with a handle)¹ to shade them and to keep off the

¹ *Sombreiro*, "a hat," is the word used by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century for "umbrella." Compare the use of the word "bonnets" for umbrellas by John Campbell in the seventeenth century (*Travels of R. Bell and John Campbell*, Sir R. C. Temple, p. 18; Reprint from *Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, 1908). Here it has the form, *sombreiro depee* (pé), i.e., "hat with a foot." Ramusio translates it as "*un capello sottile con un piede alto*." The Spanish version apparently employed a phrase which Lord Stanley translated "a slender canopy."

In modern Portuguese the word "*sombreiro*" is no longer in common use either in the sense of a hat or of an umbrella. It has been displaced by *chapeo* (from the French *chapeau*), which is used in both senses. As an umbrella or sunshade it is *chapeo de chuva* or *chapeo de sol*, or colloquially simply *chapeo*.

Many quotations illustrating the early use of umbrellas and of the word *sombreiro* and its curious English adaption as *summerhead* will be found in *Hobson-Jobson* under the headings *Umbrella* and *Sombrero*, but no notice is there given of the first mention of umbrellas made to open and shut, of which that in the text is a very early example. The only earlier mention I have been able to trace is that by Marignolli (who died in 1355). He says (speaking of the legend of a race with but one foot, which they used to keep off sun or rain), "But as all the Indians commonly go naked, they are in the habit of carrying a thing like a little tent-roof on a cane handle, which they open out at will as a protection against sun or rain. This they call a *chatyr*."

See *Cathay*, III, 256, where in a note allusion is made to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's mention of the use of parasols at Constantinople, and the editor adds "It is strange that he (i.e., Marignolli) should require to give so roundabout a description." May not the reason be that Marignolli, while possibly familiar with the ponderous state umbrellas carried in many countries, had yet never seen a handy article made to fold up and open out at need, and so made fit for everyday use? The same astonishment is expressed by Sir H. Yule in his note in *Marco Polo*, Ch. vii (Ed. 1871, I, 313, 317), and he supposes the umbrella to have gone out of use for a time, and to have been introduced "as a strange novelty." Hence he accounts for the minute descriptions by Marignolli and Barbosa; i.e., the first descriptions in which opening and shutting are mentioned. This was evidently the "strange novelty" which attracted notice.

It may be noted that the Arabic name for these umbrellas in *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, II, 440, is *mazallāt* (misprinted *ma hallat* in *Hobson-Jobson*). This is no doubt a plural of *mizallat*, a tent or awning; the usual plural is *mazāll*.

The next mention of umbrellas which open and shut, which I have been able to find, is in a passage in the *Decadas* of João de Barros (III, x, 9, f. 264, Ed. of 1563) first published in 1553, but relating to events which occurred at Cananor in 1526. The first part of this passage is quoted in *Hobson-Jobson* (Ed. 1903, p. 851), but the description of the umbrella itself is omitted, as is Barbosa's description in the quotation from this work on the same page. De Barros concludes with the following passage:

"All this is mounted on a staff as an awning, as we have said, and the canes play up and down; shutting and opening to close it.

rain, and of these some are made of finely worked silk with many golden tassels, and many precious stones and seed-pearls. They are so made as to open and shut, and many cost three or four hundred *cruzados*.

The women¹ wear white garments of very thin cotton, or silk of bright colours, five yards long: one part of which is girt round them below, and the other part they throw over one shoulder and across their breasts in such a way that one arm and shoulder remains uncovered, as with a scarf (*reguacho*). They wear leather shoes well embroidered in silk; their heads are uncovered and the hair is tightly gathered into a becoming knot on the top of the head, and in their hair they put many scented flowers. In the side of one of the nostrils they make a small hole, through which they put a fine gold wire with a pearl, sapphire or ruby pendant. They have their ears bored as well, and in them they wear earrings set with many

or spread it out. And when they would put up the great crown which gives the shade, they insert into that staff (*piam*) a very light wooden shaft (*aste*) about fifteen palms in length, and then they run it by means of a socket (*noete*) working on the wooden staff, in order that it may be fully spread out when it arrives at the top of the staff. There they put a cross piece of wood through the shaft, in which there is a hole, so that it remains fixed and does not fall down."

From these quotations it would seem that the modern form of umbrella, made to open and shut, which had been noticed by Marignolli in the fourteenth century, was not observed by any other travellers from the west until its description by Barbosa here given, and that it was still a novelty to the Portuguese forty years later when De Barros published his *Decades*.

From their elaborate ornamentation and high price they must have been a luxury only used by the most wealthy.

¹ The account here given of the women's garment is an excellent and accurate description of the *sārī* as still universally worn by Hindūs in most parts of India. In explaining how it is worn, the upper part being thrown over one shoulder and across the breasts, he compares it to a Portuguese garment which he calls a *reguacho* (i.e., *regacho*). This word is not now in use, but is mentioned by Michaelis as an ancient spelling of *recacho*. The meaning seems to have been a scarf or muffler used to wrap up the head and shoulders. This was no doubt a temporary use of the word, as the original meaning seems to have been "pride" or "haughtiness."

jewels ; on their necks they wear necklaces of gold and jewels and very fine coral beads, and bracelets of gold and precious stones and many good coral beads are fitted to their arms. Thus the more part of this people is very wealthy.

They teach their women from childhood to sing, play and dance, and to turn about and take many light steps. These women are very beautiful and very bold. The King and the country-people marry almost in our way, and have a marriage-law ; yet they marry several wives, especially the rich who are able to maintain them. The king has in his palace many women of position, daughters of great lords of the realm, and others as well, some as concubines, and some as handmaids. For this purpose the fairest and most healthy women are sought throughout the kingdom, that they may do him service with cleanliness and neatness, for all the service is carried out by women, and they do all the work inside the gates, and hold all the duties of the household. They are all gathered inside the palaces, where they have in plenty all that they require, and have many good lodgings. They sing and play and offer a thousand other pleasures as well to the king. They bathe daily in the many tanks, of which I spoke above, as kept for that purpose. The King goes to see them bathing, and she who pleases him most is sent for to come to his chamber. The first son born, whether of one woman or another, is heir to the kingdom. There is such envy and rivalry among these women with regard to the King's favour, that "some kill others" and some poison themselves.

The said king has a certain house as a hall of audience,¹ where he is present on certain days with his

¹ Here for *volação* read *relação*, one of the meanings of which is "a

governours and officials to hear the correspondence and attend to the administration of the kingdom. He punishes severely those who deserve it, and rewards the good with many honours and thanks. When he finds any great Lord or his relation guilty of any crime, he sends for him, and (as among them all go in great state) they come in rich litters borne by their servants, with many led horses and mounted men. On arrival at the palace the king is informed, and orders him to enter, and if he does not give a just excuse for his fault, "he chastises him in words as thoroughly as he deserves, and besides this, takes from him half of his revenues";¹ [he immediately orders him to be stripped and stretched on the ground and given a severe beating; and if this person happens to be his own near relative and a great lord, the King himself beats him with his own hand, and after he has been well beaten, he orders that rich vestments should be given him from his wardrobe, and be taken in his palanquin very honorably with music and rejoicing to his own house].

Thus there are always many palanquins and horsemen at the palace gates. The King of Narsyngua has

high court of justice." Here it seems to refer to the public hall of audience which is an essential feature of every oriental court.

This building appears to be the *dīwān-khāna* of 'Abdu-r-Razzāk, which according to him presented "the appearance of a *chikal-sulun* or forty-pillared hall" (Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, iv, p. 107). This is identified by Mr. Sewell, with much probability, with the beautiful building still existing among the ruins of the Palace at Vijayanagar shown in the plate facing p. 93 of *A Forgotten Empire*. Mr. Longhurst, however, in *Hampi Ruins*, considers this building to be part of the women's quarters.

¹ This account of the action of the king in punishing evil deeds among his nobility comes to an end at this point in the Portuguese text, but it was amplified in Ramusio (and in the Spanish text) in the manner shown in the following paragraph.

Barbosa's statement was simply that the king spoke severely to the delinquent, but these accounts make the king inflict corporal punishment with his own hands, an improbable story, and not in accordance with what we know of Krishna Dēvarāyya, and especially the character for justice given him by Domingos Paes.

always more than nine hundred elephants, which he purchases for one thousand five hundred¹ and for two thousand cruzados each; they are of great size and beauty, and he ever takes them with him for reasons of state as well as for war. He has also upwards of twenty thousand horses, each of which costs him from four to six hundred cruzados: and some specially chosen for his own use he buys for nine hundred or a thousand cruzados. These horses are distributed among the great lords, to whom the king makes them over for maintenance, and they must continually give him accounts of them. In the same way he gives them to other noblemen. To the knights he gives one horse each for his own riding, a groom and a slave-girl for his service, and a monthly allowance of four or five *pardaos* as the case may be; and daily supplies as well for the horse and groom, which they fetch from the great kitchens kept up by the King to feed his elephants and horses. These are in many large houses where are very many great copper cauldrons, and in these are many officials who look

¹ *Prices of elephants and horses.* The elephants are said to have cost from 1,500 to 2,000 cruzados, that is, taking the cruzado at 9s. 9d. (see p. 65, n. 1), from £731 to £975. The price given for horses refers to those imported by the Portuguese from Arabia and the Persian Gulf, of which great numbers must have passed through Barbosa's hands. His figures may therefore be compared with those given twenty years or more later by Fernão Nuniz, who was in charge of the Portuguese horse-trade with Vijayanagar. The figures here given make the general run of horses cost from £195 to £292, while those specially reserved for the king cost from £439 to £487.

Nuniz (*A Forgotten Empire*, p. 361) puts the value of imported horses at 41 for 1,000 *pardaos*. The value of the *pardao* I have calculated at 7s. 5½d. in Barbosa's time (at 320 reis worth .28 of a penny each). In Nuniz's time the reis had fallen in value and the *pardao* was valued at 360 reis, but its intrinsic value remained much the same. Nuniz, according to this computation, puts the price of imported horses at about £78 while that of the country-breds goes as low as £26.

Apparently the development of the trade between Hurmuz and Goa had made a great reduction in the price, which were still high as an average in comparison with modern prices at Indian horse-fairs.

after the preparation of the food and others who prepare it. The food is rice boiled with chick-peas and other pulse; and each man as I have said comes to draw the ration of his horse or elephant. And if they perceive that any horse or elephant thrives (not) when in charge of the man to whom it was entrusted they take it away from him and give him a worse. And in a similar way, you may well think, they act towards each man who keeps his horse or elephant in good condition. The great lords act in the same way to their vassals. Horses do not thrive well in this country, and live therein but a short time. Those that are here come from the kingdoms of Ormus and Cambaya, and bring in high prices by reason of the great need for them here. Between both horse and foot the King of Narsyngua has more¹ than a hundred thousand men of war continually in his pay, and five

¹ The size of the armies of Vijayanagar has been discussed by Mr. Sewell (*A Forgotten Empire*, p. 147). Very exaggerated figures are given by some writers. Paes puts the total at 1,000,000 fighting men. Nuniz says that an army of 703,000 infantry, 32,600 cavalry and 551 elephants went against Raichūr. Such enormous estimates are common in India. It must be remembered that every host contained an enormous number of camp followers, to say nothing of thousands of courtisans; all of whom were included in the totals. Probably Barbosa's estimate of the trained army as 100,000 is fairly correct. The cavalry he has already stated to be 20,000. This allows about 80,000 for infantry, a fair proportion, while that given by Nuniz may be considered beyond the limits of probability.

These inflated figures, so often found in Oriental history, mean very little among a people accustomed to reckon vaguely in lakhs and crores. Nuniz himself repeats the native tradition that when Muhammad bin Tughlak invaded the Deccan, after subduing Gujarāt, he still had 800,000 horse and untold numbers of foot when he attacked Anegundi, quite regardless of the impossibility of feeding such a host. But Barbosa's figures are quite reasonable.

His account of the method of maintaining the horses and elephants is of great interest, and the accounts should be compared with those of Domingos Paes (*l.c.* pp. 276-281). A plate showing the massive range of elephant stables still existing among the ruins of Vijayanagar is given by Mr. Sewell on p. 281 of the same work, which support Barbosa's description of the scale on which these animals were maintained. The rate of pay of the men-at-arms, four to five *pardaos* a month, represents at 7s. 5½d. the *pardao* (p. 191, n. 1), about £1 9s. 10d. to £1 17s. 4d., or in rupees, Rs. 22.8 to Rs. 28, which would not be considered low

or six thousand women¹ whom also he pays to march in his train, and wheresoever he wishes to make war he distributes them according to the number of men whom he sends forth, and he says that war cannot be waged where there are no women. These are all unmarried, great musicians, dancers and acrobats, and very quick and nimble at their performances. The officials of war in choosing a man for the army strip him naked and look at him to find out how tall he is, what is his name, in what land he was born, the names of his father and mother, and in this way he is appointed without leave being given him to go to his country, and if he goes without leave and afterwards is captured he is very evilly entreated [and among these men at arms are many knights who gather here from various lands to get the pay, and nevertheless do not cease to live according to their own law].

[OF THE THREE KINDS OF HEATHEN AND THEIR CUSTOMS].

In this kingdom of Narsyngua there are ³three classes of Heathen, each one of which has a very distinct rule of its own, and also their customs differ much one from the other.

even at the present day, and in the early sixteenth century, when taken in connection with the other privileges, meant affluence.

Krishna Dēva Rayya's army in his attack on Raichūr is described by Fernão Nuniz on pp. 326, 327.

¹ This establishment of courtezans to accompany the army is also mentioned by Nuniz in the passage quoted in the last note. He raises the number to 20,000.

² This passage from Ramusio is given as translated by the Portuguese editors, with which the Spanish version agrees, but Ramusio's text has "*non restano di non vivere nelle lor legge*," where the *non* seems to be a blunder.

³ The three classes into which Barbosa divides the Hindus do not correspond with the actual caste divisions, but are such as would be likely to strike an observer from Europe, viz., first, the King and nobility; secondly, the Brahmans and thirdly the members of the Lingāyat sect, which was very important at Vijayanagar.

The principal of these is that of the King, the great Lords, the knights and fighting men, who may marry, as I have said, as many women as they wish, and are able to maintain: their sons inherit their estates: the women are bound by very ancient custom, when their husbands die, to burn themselves alive with their corpses which are also burnt.¹ This they do to honour the husband. If such a woman is poor and of low estate, when her husband dies she goes with him to the burning ground, "where there is a great pit" in which

¹ The very full description here given of the rites of *Sati* as observed in the Vijayanagar kingdom is of great interest, and gives the impression of being drawn from personal observation. It may be compared with the similar description given by Fernão Nuniz (*l.c.* p. 391) which agrees with it in so many details as to make it probable that Nuniz had seen a manuscript of Barbosa's work.

The description given by Nicolo Conti (*India in the Fifteenth Century*, II, 24) probably also refers to Vijayanagar, although it is not expressly mentioned. He had already mentioned (p. 6) the *sati* of all the king's wives.

Other interesting descriptions of *satis* in other parts of India are given by Mandelslo, Peter Mundy and Thomas Bowrey. In the case of Mandelslo the woman gave him one of her bracelets, no doubt in making a distribution of her jewels such as is described by Barbosa (*Travels*, English translation by John Davies, 1669, p. 32). In the same way Thomas Bowrey was given by the widow some flowers from her hair (*Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, H.S., p. 38). His description refers to Careda between Madras and Machhlipatan in the year 1672, while Mandelslo's refers to Kambayat. It is evident, therefore, that this custom was widely diffused.

Peter Mundy's account (*Travels*, II, 32-36) refers to a *sati* at Sūrat of a Banyā's widow in 1630, of which he has left his own sketch. In none of these cases is there anything to show that the cremation took place, as at Vijayanagar, in a deep pit into which the widow threw herself either while her husband's body was burning, or, in the case of persons of high rank, afterwards, with a procession on horseback, and great ceremonies. The custom of performing the cremation in a pit as described by Barbosa and Nuniz was evidently common in South India. Tavernier alludes to it in the seventeenth century as prevailing on the coast of Coromandel. His account, though short, shows that the ceremony was identical with that described in the text (*Tavernier's Travels*, English Ed. 1678, Pt. II, Bk. III, p. 171).

In general the cremation seems to have taken place on a pyre, and not in a pit, and such is the usage in cremations at the present day in Northern India. In Western India Mr. Crooke says (*Popular Religions of Northern India*, I, 188) a grass hut was erected in which the widow sat holding her husband's head in her lap, supporting it with her right hand and holding in her left a torch with which she kindled the hut. Such a *sati* is that described by Peter Mundy, and the hut or "cottage," as he calls it, is shown in the background of his sketch.

a pile of wood burns. When the husband's body has been laid therein and begins to burn, she throws herself of her own free will into the midst of the said fire, where both their bodies are reduced to ashes. But if she is a woman of high rank, rich, and with distinguished kindred, whether she be a young maid or an old woman, when her husband dies she accompanies the aforesaid corpse of her husband to the aforesaid burning ground, bewailing him; and there they dig a round pit, very wide and deep, which they fill with wood (and a great quantity of sandal wood therewith), and, when they have kindled it, they lay the man's body therein, and it is burnt while she weeps greatly. Wishing to do all honour to her husband she then causes all his kindred and her own to be called together, that they may come to feast and honour her thereby, all of whom gather together at the said field for this ceremony, where she spends with them and with her kindred and friends all that she has in festivities with music and singing and dancing and banquets. Thereafter she attires herself very richly with all the jewels she possesses, and then distributes to her sons, relatives and friends all the property that remains. Thus arrayed she mounts on a horse, light grey or quite white if possible,¹ that she may be the better seen of all the people. Mounted on this horse they lead her through the whole city with great rejoicings, until they come back to the

¹ The horse upon which the widow rode is described as "*ruço pombo se for posivel*." Probably there should be a comma after *ruço*. This word means ordinary light grey, with a dark skin beneath, while *pombo* is pure white, in which the pink skin shows beneath the hair. Horses of this colour are in great favour still for processions and ceremonies throughout India. In the north they are known as *Nukri* or "silvery."

Nuniz (*l.c.* 391) describes the horse as worthless, and says nothing about the colour. Horses of this colour are not esteemed by Europeans.

very spot where the husband has been burnt, where, they cast a great quantity of wood into the pit itself and on its edge they make a great fire. When it has burnt up somewhat they erect a wooden scaffold¹ with four or five steps where they take her up just as she is. When she is on the top she turns herself round thereon three times, worshipping towards the direction of sunrise, and, this done, she calls her sons, kindred and friends, and to each she gives a jewel, whereof she has many with her, and in the same way every piece of her clothing until nothing is left except a small piece of cloth with which she is clothed from the waist down. All this she does and says so firmly, and with such a cheerful countenance, that she seems not about to die. Then she tells the men who are with her on the scaffold to consider what they owe to their wives who, being free to act, yet burn themselves alive for the love of them, and the women she tells to see how much they owe to their husbands, to such a degree as to go with them even to death. Then she ceases speaking, and they place in her hands a pitcher full of oil, and she puts it on her head, and with it she again turns round thrice on the scaffold and again worships towards the rising sun. Then she casts the pitcher of oil into the fire and throws herself after it with as much goodwill as if she were throwing herself on a little cotton, from which she could receive no hurt. The kinsfolk all take part at once and cast into the fire many pitchers of oil and butter which they hold ready for this purpose, and much wood on this, and therewith bursts out such a flame that no more can be seen. The

¹ The scaffold or platform here described is *cadafalso* in Portuguese, a word probably derived from *catafalco* "a catafalque"; in modern Spanish *cadahalso*. Akin to this is the Old French *escadafaut* from which our *scaffold* is derived.

ashes that remain after these ceremonies are thrown into running streams. All this they do in general without any hindrance, as it is the custom of all. Those who do not so, they hold in great dishonour, and their kindred shave their heads and turn them away as disgraced and a shame to their families. And as for some who have not done it, to whom they wish to show favour, if they are young they send them to a temple there to earn money for the said temple with their bodies. There are some temples which have a hundred or more women of good birth in them; and some unmarried women put themselves there of their own freewill. They are forced to play and sing before the idols for certain hours every day, and continue to earn money for these for most of the time left them. This abominable practice of burning is so customary, and is held in such honour among them, that when the King dies four or five hundred women burn themselves with him in this way,¹ for which they make the pit and the fire to such a size that they can hold any number who may wish to throw themselves in; and for this too they keep ready great store of sanders-wood, eagle-wood, brazil-wood, and also of gingelly oil and butter to make the fire burn better. Some of these women throw themselves in suddenly while the king is burning, others with the ceremonies. I have just described, and such is the rush as to who shall be burnt with him that it is a frightful thing.

¹ As to the number of women who burnt themselves at the death of a king of Vijayanagar there is abundant testimony. Niccolo Canti mentions it in the first half of the fifteenth century (*India in Fifteenth Century*, II, 6). Nuniz also alludes to the practice (*l.c.* p. 293).

The men who are said to have burnt themselves with the king belonged no doubt to the class of eunuchs who were the favourites alluded to by Nuniz, who says: "Amongst these eunuchs the king has some who are great favourites and who sleep where he sleeps; they receive a large salary" (*l.c.* p. 249).

"Many men who are his intimates are also burnt with him."

These men eat flesh and fish¹ and other meats, saving beef only, which is forbidden by their perverse idolatry.

[THE HEATHEN CALLED BRAMENES].

Among them is another class of people whom they call Bramenes,² who are priests and rulers of their houses of worship. These eat nothing subject to death, they marry only one wife, and if she dies, do not marry again [and their sons inherit all their goods]. As a mark of their dignity they wear over their shoulders three linen threads. Among them all these men hold the greatest liberties and privileges and are not liable to death for anything whatsoever which they do. The king, the great Lords and men of rank give them much alms on which they live; also many of them have estates while others live in the houses of worship, as in monasteries, which possess good revenues. Some are great eaters and never work except to feed well; they will start at once on a "six days' journey" [twenty or twenty-four miles, *Ramusio*; eight leagues, Spanish] only to get a good bellyful. Their honey and butter, rice, sugar, "stews of" pulse and milk.

[OF ANOTHER SORT OF HEATHEN LIKE THE BRAMENES].

³ There is in this kingdom also another class of folk very like unto the Bramenes, who wear round their

¹ "These men" refers to the whole class just described, viz., the king and the nobles.

² The account of the Brahmans is a short one and gives few particulars. He distinguishes them in three ways only; first by their wearing the *janu* or Brahmanical cord; second, by their exemption from the penalty of death; and thirdly by their religious functions. He also alludes to them as famous for their great appetites. He probably considered that he had described them sufficiently under Gujarāt (p. 114).

³ *Lingāyats*. The class here referred to is evidently the *Lingāyat*

necks certain cords of twisted silk, from which hangs a cloth bag containing a stone the size of an egg, which they say is their god. These also are much regarded and held in respect, nor will any man do them harm by reason of the reverence they have for that stone, which they call *Tambarane*. They also eat no flesh nor fish. They go everywhere in safety taking goods from one kingdom to another in order that these may not be stolen. [In transporting these goods they must wear their Tambaranes on their necks.]

sect who are worshippers of Śiva and of the bull *Nandi* with which he is associated. *Nandi* is known in Canarese as *Bassava* "a bull," and the founder of the sect (*circ.* 1200 A.D.) bore the name of *Bassava* and was supposed to be an incarnation of *Nandi*. He was a native of Pijapur, and the religion spread in the Canarese and South Mahrattā country. In the Canarese country it was propagated by Chenna Bassava, nephew of the founder, and became one of the principal creeds of the Vijayanagar kingdom. Lingāyats are still numerous in the Bellary District (in which the ruins of Vijayanagar are situated). Here they are known as *Vira Śaiva* or Champions of Śiva. Among them the *linga* or phallic emblem is considered as an embodiment of Śiva himself, and is regarded with peculiar reverence and always worn, very often round the neck, tied up in a kind of scarf. (See the plate facing p. 243 in Vol. IV. of Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*.)

It is to this emblem that the word *Tambarane* refers. This is a phrase in the Malayālam language, rather than in the kindred Canarese spoken at Vijayanagar. Barbosa we know was accustomed to speak Malayālam, and probably used it as his medium of communication at Vijayanagar. It means "my lord" or "my god," and Barbosa says that "they say it is their god." The expression in old Canarese was no doubt very similar. Caldwell in his *Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 293, gives the Tamil *tambirān*, Malayālam *tamburān*, as an example of "the honorific use of the reflexive pronoun *tam*" (answering to the Latin *suus*). He translates the phrase "God, lord, the abbot of a Saiwā monastery," and adds "the nearest English is 'his lordship' from *tam* used honorifically and *pirān*, lord." *Pirān* is the Tamil form, the Malayālam being *purān*. In old Canarese also the pronoun is found in the form *tān*. *Tamburān* is also used in Malayālam as a title for a member of a royal family, especially in Cochin. *Periya tambirān* "the great lord" is used for Śiva as represented by images, as Sir Richard Temple informs me.

A curious early instance of the use of this word is found in *Varthema's Travels*, *circ.* 1510 (see Badger's notes in H.S. Edition, pp. 145-6). He does not use it as a name for the *linga*, but apparently as a respectful form of address. Varthema gives certain sentences in Malayālam as spoken at Cananor, and some of these end in the word *tambarāni*, which Varthema translates "my God." It should probably be "my lord." These sentences were submitted by the editor to Malayālam scholars who were unable to decipher them.

The Lingāyats do not burn but bury their dead, and it is probable that Barbosa's description of widows being buried alive instead of being

"Many of them are merchants and trade as well." They marry only one wife, and when one of them dies the wife buries herself alive. They dig a great hole deep enough to come up to her neck, and place her in it alive, standing on her feet, and begin to shovel in the earth around her, trampling it down with their feet until she is covered up to the neck with well-trodden earth. Then they place a great stone over her, and there she stays dying alive and walled up in clay, and they carry out other ceremonies for her,¹ [which would take too long to describe; a miserable and pitiful

burnt is correct; the practice, if it still existed, must have long ago been suppressed with the ordinary forms of *sati*. No trace of it seems to exist now. Nuniz (*l.c.* p. 393) also mentions this practice, but applies it to a "caste of people called *Telugus*," no doubt Telinga Lingāyats. In another place (p. 390) he calls them *Telumgalle*. (See *Lingāyat*, in Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Vol. IV, pp. 236-291, and description of the *linga* on p. 256. Also article *Lingāyat* by R. W. Frazer in *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. V, and *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, pp. 43, 44 for the South Marāṭṭha Country. For *tambarane* see *Art. Tambaranee* in *Hobson-Jobson*).

The account given by Nuniz undoubtedly refers to the Lingāyats, as he says the husband and widow are both buried in a sitting posture, and at the present day Lingāyat burials are still carried out in the same way. "The grave should be a cube of nine feet dimensions, with a niche on one side, in which the corpse is to sit" (Thurston, *l.c.*, p. 286). Tavernier also alludes to this custom as prevalent "On the coast of Coromandel"; where, he says, "the women are not burnt (in most places) with their deceased husbands, but buried alive with them in holes which the *Bramins* make a foot deeper than the tallness of the man and woman" (*Tavernier's Travels*, English Ed., 1678, Pt. III, Book iii, Ch. ix, p. 171). In spite of the allusion of "Bramins" it is evident that this account refers to the *Lingāyat* practice.

According to the original doctrine promulgated by Bassava, widow remarriage was permitted though opposed by many (Thurston, *l.c.*, iv, 278). It is probable however that ancient custom prevailed, and that *sati* was frequent. As a member of this creed, even after death, may not be separated from the *linga* which he has always carried with him, and as it would be sacrilege to burn the *linga*, cremation became impossible and burial took its place. Naturally, the same rule would apply to the *sati* of a widow.

Canarese is the language usually employed among Lingāyats, even where another language is prevalent, and Mr. Carr (see Thurston, *l.c.* iv, 237) thinks that their isolation has been instrumental in preserving this language intact. In the Central Provinces, however, Lingāyat Baniyas used Telugu (Russell, *l.c.*, I, 246).

¹ This is one of the moral reflections which Ramusio seems to have interpolated in Barbosa's narrative on his own account, as it is not found even in the Spanish version, with which he generally agrees.

thing, making us consider what strength ambition and reputation have in this world, when they can induce these women to submit of their own will to such a horrible end, for nothing else than for honour and to be held in good repute, failing which they would be regarded as no longer alive].

"The women of this land are so bold in their idolatry and do such marvels for the love of their gods, that it is a terrible thing." [As to the women of this country although they are so delicate and go about with so many jewels and scents, I cannot refrain from saying what I have seen of the greatness and incredible constancy of their minds in addition to the matters related above.¹] If any young maiden would marry a youth on whom she has set her fancy she makes

¹ The account of the hook-swinging ceremony which here follows is probably the earliest on record. The best known instance of this practice is the Charakh Pūjā of Bengal, but instances of it have been recorded in modern times at Hoshangābād in the Central Provinces and in the Madras Presidency.

The process as described seems to be identical with that in modern cases. The instrument used for hoisting the victim into the air is described by Barbosa as like the lift used in Castille for raising water. This was no doubt a contrivance like the *shadūf* used in Egypt, introduced into Spain by the Arabs. A similar instrument is in use in the Panjāb and Kashmir. The leather waterbag hangs from the end of the long arm of a bamboo crane, while the short arm is weighted with a heavy stone, and so nearly balanced that a slight pressure will raise the long arm into the air.

Most of the earlier European travellers in India do not seem to have noticed this practice. Tavernier, however, alludes to it as prevalent in Bengal. He says:

"The eighth of April, being in a city of Bengala, called Malde, the Idolaters make a great feast. . . . They all go out of the city and fasten Iron hooks to the boughs of several trees, then come a great number of poor people and hang themselves some by the sides, some by the brawn of their backs on those hooks, till the weight of their body tearing away the flesh they fall of themselves. This is a wonderful thing to see that not so much as one drop of blood should issue from the wounded flesh, nor that any of the flesh should be left upon the hook; besides that in two days they are perfectly cur'd by such Plaisters, as their Bramins give them." (*Tavernier's Travels*, English Ed, 1678, Pt. II, Bk. iii, p. 181.)

A full account of this practice in modern times, collected from various sources, is given by Mr. E. Thurston, in his *Ethnographic Notes in South India* (Madras, 1906), pp. 487-501, and this is illustrated by photographic plates. Mr. J. H. Powell's paper on the subject published

a vow to her god that if he will arrange for her marriage she will do him a great service before giving herself to her husband. If her wish is fulfilled, and she obtains him for her husband, she tells him that before giving herself to him she must offer sacrifice to such and such a god to whom she has promised to make an offering of her blood. Then, appointing a certain day for the ceremony, they take a great ox-cart and set up therein a tall water-lift like those used in Castille for drawing water from wells, at the end of which hang two very sharp iron hooks. She goes forth on the appointed day in the company of her relations and friends, men and women, with much music played and sung, also dancers and tumblers. She is naked from the waist up, and wears cotton garments below. When she arrives

in *Folklore* for 1914, pp. 147 ff., gives a very full account, illustrated by numerous photographic plates, of the ceremony which he witnessed in 1912, at a village in the Manbhūm district of Chutia Nāgpur. Mr. Powell also gives in this paper a *résumé* of the whole subject, with quotations from various travellers, of which the earliest in date is the passage from Duarte Barbosa, as given in Lord Stanley's translation, and the next of 1582 from Gaspero Balbi (at San Thomé near Madras). Mr. Powell shows that the ceremony exists only among the Dravidians of India. There are very few instances recorded of the performance of the ceremony by women. One is quoted by Mr. Thurston from Moor's *Narrative of Little's Detachment* (1794), in which a woman went through it vicariously on behalf of her daughter, "who had vowed to swing if the child with which she was pregnant was a boy." Moor also says that it was customary for a man to swing in performance of a vow, if he married a certain girl within a certain time. Here the motive corresponds with that in Barbosa's account. The crane or lever mounted on a car, as in our description, is shown in Mr. Thurston's Plate XXXI, and a similar one attached to a post in Plate XXXIII. Substitution of animals or effigies is often made at the present day. (See also *Village Gods of South India*, by the Right Rev. H. Whitehead, D.D., Bishop of Madras, pp. 58, 60, 78, and *Dubois' Hindu Manners and Customs*, Ed. Beauchamp, 1899, p. 605). From these and other authorities it appears that the practice is connected with the worship of the South Indian Goddess Mari-amma, the primitive earth-goddess, often associated with small-pox, and of Durgamma, another South Indian deity, identified in the present day with Durgā, consort of Śiva. The persistence of similar festivals in Bengal is no doubt due to the Dravidian element in the Bengali population. (See *The Folk-element in Hindu Culture*, by Beney Kumār Sarkār, 1916.)

Barbosa's vivid and minute description is evidently drawn from actual observation, and is of great value as probably the earliest account of this ceremony in existence.

at the gate where the cart stands ready, they let down (the long arm of) the lift and push the hooks into her loins, through skin and flesh. Then they put a "small dagger" [small round shield, *Ramusio* and Spanish] into her left hand, and from the other end, cause the (arm of the) lift to rise, with much outcry and shouting from the people. She remains hanging from the lift with the blood running down her legs, but shows no signs of pain, nay, she waves her dagger most joyfully, throwing limes at her husband. In this manner they conduct her to the temple wherein is the idol to whom she has vowed such a sacrifice, on arriving at the gate whereof they take her down and attend to her wounds, and make her over to her husband, while she, according to her station in life, gives great gifts and alms to the Bramenes and idols, and food in abundance to all who have accompanied her.

And another sort of idolatry is practised in this kingdom.¹ Many women, through their superstition, dedicate the maidenhead of their daughters to one of their idols, and as soon as they reach the age of twelve

¹ It is improbable that the practice here described was in any way universal, or widely spread among all classes. It was evidently connected with the phallic worship denoted by the *linga*, and was probably considered as equivalent to marriage of the girl to the god Siva. The square block of stone "as high as a man" on which stood another stone "as high as a stooping man" was evidently a *linga-yoni*, and the God to whom the offering was made was undoubtedly Siva.

A similar practice is given by Mr. Nicholson (quoted in Thurston, *l.c.* iv, 384) of the dedication of a Basavi (or prostitute attached to a temple). This profession entails no disgrace and appears to be prevalent among all classes in the West Telugu country. The western boundary of the Telugu language, where it meets Canarese, runs north and south through the Vijayanagar kingdom, and close to the City of Vijayanagar. It is probable therefore that Barbosa's account relates to these people. Mr. Powell, in his paper in *Folklore* on "Hook-swinging," quoted above (p. 220, n. 1), alluding to this passage in Lord Stanley's translation (which is in less detail than that here translated), supposes this practice to be a substitute offered by the woman for the surrender of her person. The whole paper should be referred to for Mr. Powell's explanations of hook-swinging and the rite here described. Cf. Linschoten I, 224. This account was perhaps taken from Barbosa.

years they take them to the monastery or house of worship where that idol is, accompanied with exceeding respect, by all their kindred, holding a festival for the maid as though she were to be married. And outside the gate of the monastery or church is a square block of black stone of great hardness about the height of a man, and around it are wooden gratings which shut it in. On these are placed many oil lamps which burn by night, and these gratings they decorate for the ceremony with many pieces of silk that they may be shut in and the folk outside may not be able to see them. On the said stone is another stone as high as a stooping man, in the middle of which is a hole in which is inserted a sharp-pointed stick. The maid's mother then goes inside the grating with her daughter and some of the other women of her kin, and after great ceremonies, have been performed, "as to which I have scant knowledge by reason that they are concealed from view," the girl with that stick takes her own virginity and sprinkles the blood on those stones, "and therewith their idolatry is accomplished."

This King of Narsynga is oftentimes at war¹ with the

¹ The wars with Daquem or the Deccan were nominally with the Bahmani kings of the Deccan, but really with Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh and his successors the 'Adil-Shāhis of Bijāpur, who had been independent in all but name since A.D. 1489. There were frequent wars with this kingdom, and also with the Kuṭb-Shāhis of Golkonda, another state which had arisen out of the ruin of the Bahmani kingdom.

The events alluded to by Barbosa must refer to the early years of Krishna Dēvarāyṣa's reign, as he did not succeed to the throne till 1509, and Barbosa probably left India in 1516 or 1517. Wars with the 'Adil-shāhis had been frequent, however, before Krishna Dēvarāyṣa's succession, and with these Barbosa, who had been in India since 1500, must have been well acquainted. At this time, however, there was peace with the 'Adil-Shāhi king (the Ydalcão) unless as Ferishta says Krishna Dēvarāyṣa had taken Raichūr in 1512, but this is very doubtful. The passage given in Brigg's translation at the foot of Vol. III, p. 44 (and quoted by Mr. Sewell from Scott) does not appear in Ferishta's text. But the Kuṭb-Shāh, whose independence was of more recent date, declared war against Vijayanagar with some success, and took some places north and south of the River Krishna in Telingāna. These operations are probably the war with "Daquem"

King of Daquem and the King of Otisa (who is another Heathen king), which also is situated within in the interior ; and all these do one another all the injury they can.

He of Narsyngua seldom goes to the war himself but sends his captains and armies, and when the war has arrived at such a point that he considers it necessary to go in person,¹ and when he has settled in his Council that he will go ; on an appointed day the king goes forth to an open plain as if he were going for his pleasure, mounted on an elephant or in a palanquin, each finely adorned with gold and precious stones, accompanied by a great number of horsemen and footmen, and many elephants well-drawn up in line on the right before him, covered with scarlet and silken cloths. When he arrives at the plain they bring him a horse whereon he rides holding in his hand a bow and an arrow, which arrow he lets fly towards the country with which he is about to wage war. He then gives out in how many days from that time he will start, and this news runs through the whole city and kingdom. Thence he goes forth at once and fixes his camping ground in the open country where he awaits the time fixed for

alluded to in the text. Krishna Dēvarāyya's victory over the 'Adilshāhis at Raichūr, did not take place till 1520, long after Barbosa had left the country.

The successful war against the Hindu Kingdom of Orissa, which is the second war mentioned in the text, took place in 1513, and according to Nuniz (*l.c.* p. 322) Krishna Dēvarāyya never again went in person against Orissa. He took the strong forts of Udaygiri and Kondovīḍ, in the district south of the Krishna River, which was the southern portion of the tract known to the English in the eighteenth century as the Northern Circars. These towns were known then as Oodegherri and Condobear. It may be noted that the power of the Kings of Orissa had extended southwards down the coast, far beyond the limits of Orissa proper, and that this war took place, not in Orissa, but in Telingāna.

¹ With this account of the preliminaries to a campaign in which the king took part personally, that given by Domingos Paes (*l.c.*, p. 275) of a review held by Krishna Dēvarāyya outside Vijayanagar may be compared.

his advance. When this time is fulfilled he issues a proclamation [ordering that the whole city shall be at once set on fire, saving the palaces, fortresses and temples, and those of certain lords which are not thatched, and this he does in order]¹ that all men shall attend with their wives and sons and households,² all are ordered to go thither, for he says that men fight better if they have the responsibility of wives and children and household goods on them. To all he gives good pay, and more especially to the numerous unmarried women, very many of whom they take with them, some of whom are much respected and of great importance, rich and beautiful, wherefore those who are enamoured of them fight better to do them service [though they fight not themselves]. [And it is said that there is a great concourse of men thither

¹ The ridiculous statement here quoted from Ramusio and the Spanish version, does not occur in the Portuguese text, and is evidently the interpolation of an unintelligent copyist. What Barbosa did say was not that the king set fire to his capital, but that when he was on the march, before starting for the next camping ground, he had the temporary town of grass huts, which had been erected for the accommodation of his army, burnt. (See the passage below, p. 227, 228).

The whole of this interesting passage, giving an account of the regular arrangement of this camp or town of straw, and of its destruction by fire whenever the king marched on, has been omitted, and this preposterous account of the whole city of Vijayanagar being destroyed by fire, interpolated in its place. The careful remark that the palaces, fortresses and temples were not burnt, is worthy of the sapient contriver of this interpolation.

The arrangement of this camp is in accordance with that described by Nuniz (*l.c.* p. 332).

² The statement that when an army marched the men were accompanied by their wives and families has been already made by our author regarding the armies of the Deccan, referring no doubt to those of the 'Adilshāhis with which the Portuguese were most familiar. These crowds of non-combatants, including the thousands of courtezans officially attached to the forces, must have made the armies extremely unwieldy and unmanageable. As long as the armies of South India fought only against one another, all being subject to the same disabilities were more or less on an equality, but as soon as they met a really martial foe disaster was certain to attend them.

That there was no exaggeration in Barbosa's account is clear from a comparison with the narrative of Nuniz describing the advance of the army on Raichūr (*l.c.* p. 327-29). No fewer than 20,000 courtezans are said to have accompanied this army.

from many lands on account of these same women].¹ Among them are many women who are reserved for the king, and these travel in great state for they have great riches. Each of these principal women takes in her train five or six very beautiful young women, who are made over to her by their mothers to be brought up, and they take them with them to the Court, where they are settled on good pay, and this they hold among them to be a great honour. Some of them are so rich that a short time ago one of them, dying without son or daughter, made the King heir to all her property. who, when he sent to collect what she had left, found that a sum of seventy thousand *pardaos* remained as well as another twelve thousand, which during her life she had set apart and left to one of her handmaids whom she had brought up from childhood; wherein there is no great marvel, for this kind of merchandise is the greatest and richest found in this world!

And the King possesses great cities "wherein dwell many merchants, both Moors and Heathen, and there is great traffic chiefly in precious stones,² which are held

¹ The position of favour and distinction occupied by the courtesan class seems to have been extreme in Vijayanagar, even for India, and had already been noticed by more than one traveller. 'Abdu'r-Razzāk was especially enthusiastic on the subject (*India in Fifteenth Century*, p. 29).

The fortune left by one of these women (according to Barbosa 82,000 *pardaos*) is about £32,000 in modern money, an enormous sum for that period.

² The south of India was from ancient times celebrated as the centre of the trade in precious stones, and in the early part of the sixteenth century the wealth and importance of Vijayanagar made it the most important depot for such articles. Garcia de Orta, who came to India in 1534, and finished his work on the simples and drugs of India in 1562, shortly before the fall of Vijayanagar, says in his *Colloquy* 44 "On Precious Stones" that sapphires are obtained "in Calicut and Cananore, and many parts of the kingdom of Bisnaguer," as well as in Ceylon and Pegu, and diamonds in "Cambaia, Bisnaguer and Ceylon." Also in *Colloquy* 43, "On Diamonds," he says, "In Bisnaguer there are two or three rocks which yield much to the King of Bisnaguer the stone which has a weight of 30 carats belongs to the King." "The other rock is in the Deccan, near the territory of Imadixa (whom

in great esteem in that kingdom; which trade is greatly honoured there. The King possesses a great treasure thereof, and boasts much of this. When he would know what any stone is he sends for it, for he says that what price soever was paid for it, that same price he will pay to make it his own.

"When the King moves in person not less than a hundred thousand warriors go with him; and this is his manner of travelling. They march but three leagues a day, and, the day's march finished, they fix on a wide camping-ground, and at once a great town of straw is erected there, the houses all arranged in streets with many open spaces. Here they must

we call Madremaluco) a land of a Gentio lord, with better diamonds but not so large. These are called 'of the old rock,' and they come to sell them at a well-known fair in the Deccan at a city called Lispor, within the territories of Madremaluco. There the Guzeratis buy them, and take them for sale to Bisnaguer, where these diamonds of the old rock fetch a very high price." Lispor is doubtless Elichpur in Berār, which was an important town in the 'Imād-Shāhi dominions. The account of diamonds given in Linschoten's eighty-fifth chapter is taken almost verbatim from Garcia de Orta's book published forty years before (Linschoten, II, 136). He gives the town Elichpur with De Orta's spelling Lispor, speaks of the "Roca velha" diamonds, and speaks of the king of Bisnagar making great profit from the diamonds, oblivious of the destruction of Vijayanagar in 1565. This conveyance is not noted by *Linschoten's* editor, Mr. P. A. Tiele, nor in Sir C. Markham's translation of *Garcia de Orta*.

It may be conjectured that the diamonds which were found in the territory of Vijayanagar came from the neighbourhood of Karnūl, south of the Krishna. Those of the "old rock" may be perhaps identified with those afterwards known by the name of Golconda, that is they came from the part of Telingāna north of the Krishna. This, at the period when Garcia de Orta wrote, however, was under the Kuṭṭshāhīs, and did not form part of the country near the territory of the 'Imād-shāhi king of Birār, known to the Portuguese as Madremaluco. It is evident that the Gujarati merchants who dealt in these diamonds took them to the best mart, that is to Vijayanagar. See also *infra*, § 100, where it is stated that rubies and spinels came from Pegu, through the port of Paleacate (Pulicat) and were thence conveyed to the mart of Vijayanagar.

Vijayanagar lost its trade after the battle of Tālikōṭa and the destruction of the city in 1565. The diamond trade passed to Goa, which kept it until its decay, through the Dutch wars and other causes, in the seventeenth century. Sivaji's possession of the inland country contributed greatly to this loss. Fryer noted that Goa had been "the greatest mart for small diamonds before these incursions" (*Fryer*, Ed. Crooke, H.S., II, 25).

halt three days, so that they spend three days on every three leagues, and when they are to start a gong is sounded,¹ and at once the town is set on fire, and all depart; and thus they continue until they arrive at their appointed place."

[They are much given to the chase, and so, both for hawking and hunting they keep many small ambling ponies].

§ 85. THE KINGDOM OF OTISA.²

THERE is another kingdom further inland, which marches with the kingdom of Narsyngua on the one side, and with Bengala on the other, and on yet another side, with the great kingdom of Dely; this kingdom pertains to the Heathen. The king thereof is a Moor, and Lord of many footmen; as I have already said he is oftentimes at war with him of Narsyngua.

¹ The original reads "they strike a basin," which is apparently an allusion to the system of time keeping, by which a basin is punctured so as to fill and sink in a fixed space of time when floated in water. When it sinks a gong is struck to proclaim the hour. But the basin is not struck itself, as might be inferred from the phrase used.

² Orissa is here called Otisa, but Ramusio gives the form Orixā which is common in later Portuguese writers. The older form is closer to the vernacular Oḍiṣa, the cerebral *ḍ* in which easily passes into *r*. The ancient form was Odra. The language is known as Oriya (popularly Ūriya) a term sometimes wrongly employed for the country, as for instance by Paes (*A Forgotten Empire*, p. 239), "And this kingdom of Orya is said to be much larger than the kingdom of Narsyngua, since it marches with all Bengal, and is at war with her; and it marches with all the kingdom of Pegu, and with the Mallaca sea. It reaches to the kingdom of Cambaya and to the kingdom of Deccan; and they told me with positive certainty that it extends as far as Persia."

These extravagant ideas were based on no real knowledge. Orissa did not, it need hardly be said, extend to Persia nor to Gujarāt. From Burma it was separated by Bengal and the sea. It did, however, meet the boundaries of both Vijayanagar and the Bahmanī kingdom as represented by its offshoot the Golkonda kingdom of the Kuṭṭsbāhīs.

It is introduced by Barbosa at this point on account of its relations with Vijayanagar. Further on in his work he gives it another paragraph in its proper place on the coast of the Bay of Bengal. Had he ever made a final revision of his work he would doubtless have combined the two notices under the latter, its proper geographical position. See § 101 and notes.

They take one from the other all the lands they can, and very seldom are at peace. The customs of these people and their habitations I write not here, because we have little knowledge of them by reason of their dwelling away from the coast; only this, that in that land there are but few Moors, and that they are good fighting men.

§ 86. THE KINGDOM OF DELY.

STILL further inland there is a great kingdom named Dely¹, with many lands, and cities both great and rich, where dwell merchants of importance. The inhabitants thereof are Moors, and the King also is a Moor and a very great Lord. This kingdom was of old in the possession of the Heathen, and there are even yet

¹ *The Kingdom of Dehli.* The powerful Salṭanat established at the end of the twelfth century by the Iranian Ghōrī chief Muḥammad bin Sām, and continued by various dynasties, mainly of Turkish slave origin, had fallen into decay and lost its wide-spread possessions, but was revived after 1450 by a vigorous Afghān (or Pathān) Bahlōl Lōdī and his son Sikandar Lōdī, the latter of whom reigned till 1517 and was Barbosa's contemporary. He had extended the kingdom again to the east, up to the boundaries of Bengal, and he had also brought a new wave of bigotry into the Muhammadan rule, from which it had long been free. His persecutions explain the stories told by the Jogis of the oppression undergone by the Hindus of Northern India. In the year 1506, for instance, when he invaded Gwalior and Dhōlpur, "he waged a holy war and plundered the country of the infidels. He butchered most of the people who had fled for refuge to the hills and forests, and the rest he pillaged and put in fetters" (Ni'amatullāh's *Tārīkhī Khān Jahān Lōdī*, translated in Elliott and Dowson's *History of India*, v, 100).

His weak successor, Ibrāhīm, was defeated by Bābur in 1525, and killed at the battle of Pānīpat. This event brought the Salṭanat of Dehli to an end. As the Lōdīs were the last kings before the rise of the Mughal Empire, and were by race Afghāns (popularly called Pathāns in India), all the Sultāns of Dehli have been spoken of as Pathāns in many histories, although none of them before the Lōdīs belonged to that race.

It is not easy to understand why Barbosa brings in the Kingdom of Dehli at this point before passing along the coast southwards from the territories of Vijayanagar to those comprised under the name Malabar.

A possible explanation may be found in the fact that the first place he mentions in Malabar is the Monte Dely i.e., the hill of Ely or Hili. The name Dely may have suggested to him that of the kingdom of Dely, an allusion to which would enable him to introduce what he had learnt of that country from the Jogis who came from northern India.

some who dwell there in great affliction ; but many who are of noble birth and men of honour, unwilling to stay under the power of the Moors, go forth (for the most part of them) from that land and assume poor attire, resolving to go through the whole world sojourning in no place whatsoever ; and this they continue to do until they die during their pilgrimage.

These men¹ possess nothing of their own, for they have lost what estates they once had ; they go naked and barefoot, they wear nothing on their heads, and they hide their nakedness only with bands of Moorish brass, on which hang girdles of many coins which dangle on both sides ; these are of the width of four fingers, cylindrical in shape, with many figures carved on them [both of men and women]. These they wear so tight that they make their bellies stand out over

¹ *Jogues* or *JOGIS*. The character of these ascetics and miracle-workers has been fully dealt with s.v. *Joges*, in *Hobson-Jobson*, where a number of quotations bearing on the subject, from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries, will be found.

There are certain points in Barbosa's account, however, which are not found in any statements by other travellers. The especial *jogis* dealt with by him seem to have been immigrants from northern India, who claimed to have been great men in their own country which had been conquered by the Muhammadans. They appear to have informed Barbosa that the penances they underwent were on account of their wickedness in refusing to fight for their own people and country.

The description of these men as well built and tall makes it probable that they really came from Northern India, from some part of what was still known at this date as the Saltanat of Dehli, as the people of North-West India are tall compared with those of the south.

The brass girdles worn by these *Jogis* do not seem to have been described elsewhere, and it is probable that there was some truth in their statements, although it is not necessary to believe that they had all held exalted positions in their own country.

The description of this method of torture is fairly clear, but is made more obscure in the passage interpolated by Ramusio. The Italian translator and the Spanish version (as it appears in Lord Stanley's translation) appear to have misunderstood the Portuguese phrase "*trazem huns cintos di muytas peças*," which means properly, "they wear girdles of many coins (or trinkets), etc.," and have taken the word *peças* to imply that the whole cincture was made of "pieces" of Moorish brass fitted together ; but the word *peça* is not used in this way ; *pedaço* might have been employed so. The allusion is evidently to dangling strings of coins or other small objects wound round the brass girdle.

them. [And from the same band a strip of this brass passes from behind between the buttocks, so as to form a cod-piece in front].

To the corners of these bands their waist cloths are attached, when they wish to fasten them with their clasps, and all so tight that it gives them great pain. Besides this they carry heavy iron chains on their necks and waists. Their bodies and face are smeared with ashes. They carry a small horn or trumpet, on which they blow, and whithersoever they come they call out and demand food, more especially at the houses of worship, or those of kings or great Lords. They go about in bands, like the Egyptians with us, nor is it their custom to abide long in one place, but for a few days only. These men are called *Jogues*¹ or *Çoamerques*, which is as much as to say "servants of God." These heathen are tawny men, well-built and tall, with handsome faces. They never comb their hair but wear it in matted locks. I have oftentimes asked them wherefore they went about thus, to which they replied that they always carried these iron chains as a penance for the great sin they had committed, in that they were unwilling to endure taking arms for the defence of their honour, and had allowed themselves to be overcome by a wicked people like the Moors; and that they went naked as a token of their great loss of honour, because

¹ The word *jogis* appears in the text, through a copyist's error, as *Jones*; probably the original was *Jogues*, as elsewhere in Portuguese writers. Ramusio gives it as *Ioghi*.

The other name given is *Coamerques* in the text, but should undoubtedly be read, *Çoamerques*, the cedilla being omitted, a very common practice. The Spanish version has *zoame*, representing a Portuguese *çoame*. Ramusio reproduces the word without the cedilla as *Coames*. As has been, no doubt correctly, observed in *Hobson-Jobson* it represents the Indian *swāmi*. It is possible they may have represented themselves as *Swāmi-rikhi* (*rikhi* being the Hindi pronunciation of the Sanskrit *rishi*, "a saint or sage"). This would account for Barbosa's form *Çoamerque*. The meaning would be "saints of the deity," which corresponds with Barbosa's explanations.

they had submitted to be deprived of their lands and houses in which God had brought them up. And now, they said, they wished for no property, as they had lost their own and they ought rather to have died; and that they smeared themselves with ashes to remind them that of dust and ashes they were made, and to these they must return; all else was falsehood.

Each of them carries with him a small bag of these ashes. The Heathen of the land show them great honour and respect, to whom they give of these ashes, marking them therewith and making streaks on their breasts, foreheads and shoulders; and this custom prevails much among them.

These men eat every kind of food, nor do they observe any other form of idolatry. They touch men of every class and wash not themselves thereafter according to the rule, as do the other Heathen, unless they desire so to do.

There are very good horses in this kingdom of Dely, which are born and bred there. The natives thereof, Moors as well as Heathen, are good fighting men and good riders. They are armed with weapons of all kinds, are very strong and good archers as well. They have right good spears, swords, steel maces and battle-axes with which they fight, and mostly carry steel disks which they call *Chacarar*,¹ about two fingers in thickness, as sharp as razors at the edge, but blunt inside. They are of the breadth of a small plate, and

¹ *Chacarar* (*Chacarani* in the Spanish version, *Cecharany* in Ramusio). This represents the Sanskrit *chakra*, Hindi *chakar*, a wheel or discus, and is the name used for the quoit with a cutting edge employed in war in Northern India. Among the Sikhs they are still carried by the Akali devotees, and may be seen worn on their turbans at Sikh gatherings, such as the great fair of Mukatsar. The sepoy of Sikh regiments still use them with great skill in their regimental sports; and I have seen them sever a stout banana stem at a distance of about seventy yards.

there is a hole in the middle. Everyone carries as many as ten of them on the left arm ; and they take one into the battle. They place it on the finger of the right hand, putting the finger a little round it so as to give it a grasp, and hurl it straight at the enemy. If they hit an arm, leg or neck they cut right through, and thus they cause great injury ; and there are men here very skilful at this.

The king of Dely¹, is a great Lord of a great and warlike race ; his land is very widespread, and marches with Tartary on the north side. It contains many kingdoms. Those of Cambaya and Daquem were once his ; and sending thither certain captains to complete the conquest of these lands, these (captains) rebelled with them, and thus they remained independent kingdoms.

In this land are certain trees,² the root whereof is called *Braechagua*, and is so poisonous that it kills

¹ The extent of the Dehli Saltanat at its greatest never was as great as Barbosa describes it, no doubt from popular report. It never extended beyond the mountain barriers of India, to the north and north-west, but at that period the country we now call Afghanistan, a name unknown then, may have been held to be part of Tartary, in that its rulers were of Turkish blood and descendants of the great "Tartar" conquerors Chingiz Khān and Timūr. Bābur, the future conqueror of India, ruled at Kābul, and Husain Baikara, the most famous sovereign of the day, had his capital at Herāt, and his nominal vassals the Arghūns held the Kandahār territory down to the Indian frontier, till his death in 1506. After that the Uzbek invaders under Shaibanī ravaged the country until his defeat by Shāh Isma'il of Persia in 1510.

Thus the name Tartary may well have been used for the whole country west of the Sulaiman Mountains, and even for part of Sindh and the south Panjāb where the Turkish Arghūns and the nomadic Balōch tribes were by this time established. The loss of the Deccan kingdoms and the rise of the independent Muhammadan states of Malwa, Gujarāt and the Bahmanis, was naturally better known and understood in Southern India, and Barbosa has correctly ascribed their foundation to rebellious officials of the Dehli kingdom which fell to pieces owing to the misgovernment of Muḥammad bin Tughlak, and afterwards through the effects of Timūr's invasion.

² BRAECHAGUA and MIRALEXY. The poisonous root and the fruit which was an antidote to poison produced by the same plant have

everything that eats it : and the fruit of the same tree, which is called *Miralexxy*, has such virtue that it destroys all poison, and gives life to every poisoned man who eats it. The *Jogues*, who are the Heathen whom I have described above, carry this root and fruit with them ; some give them to the Indian kings ; they also carry some unicorn-horn¹ (*alicorne*) " but it is a

not hitherto been identified. The names are probably in a corrupt form in the text. The various forms found are *Bazarague* and *Nirabixy* in the Spanish version, and *Baxana* and *Nirabix* in Ramusio.

Garcia de Orta evidently alludes to this passage in his last Colloquy (*Colloquies*, Ed. Sir C. Markham, 1913, p. 483). In this Ruano alludes to " a chronicle of the King of Portugal " in which he had read " that in the kingdom of Delhi (*sic*) there was a deadly poisonous root that bears a fruit which cures every man that was poisoned, and was very wholesome. The root was called BAÇARAGA, and the fruit MIRABIXI."

To this Orta replies that but little is known of the kingdom of Delhi, and of that most was gathered from *Jogues*. He also expressed doubts about the poison and antidote being derived from the same plant, and said that though he had conversed with *Jogues* he had never heard of this plant, but would enquire further when he met with *Jogues* of Delhi.

It is evident that the chronicle alluded to was Duarte Barbosa's book, and also that Garcia de Orta, who was an authority on plants and drugs, could not identify those in question.

It is nevertheless possible that the *Jogis* did give these names, or something like them, to drugs derived from a root and a fruit, although it is very probable that they did not proceed from the same plant.

The second name at once suggests that the syllable *bisi* or *bix* is the vernacular (Hindī) *Bish* or *Bikkh*, " poison," especially employed for the root of various species of aconite, which are natives of the Himalayas and are found in the bazaars of Northern India. Buchanan, in his *Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, says that there are four kinds of *Bikkh*, one of which is called *Nirbisi*, a form which at once suggests the *Nirabixy* and *Nirabix* of the Spanish and Ramusio's versions. This, according to Royle, is derived from *Aconitum ferox*. This plant Stewart (*Panjab Plants*, p. 1) tells us is wild in the Panjab Himalaya, and is known in the Sutlej basin as *Maurā-bikkh* (meaning probably *morā* or *marora bikkh*, " the twisting or writhing poison." Some form like this might have been the origin of *Mirabixi* (see Murray's *Plants and Drugs of Sind*, p. 74, under *Ac. napellus*, where many authorities on aconite are quoted). Aconite is often called also *Mīṭha sahr* or *Mīṭha bish*, " sweet poison," in the bazaars, which affords another possible derivation.

For the word *Braschagua* or *Baçaraga*, I would suggest as a possible origin *bazārī-bang*, a name used in the Panjab for the seeds of henbane, *Hyoscyamus niger*, which is found (like *Ac. ferox*) in the Sutlej valley, and is in use as a narcotic medicine. It is probable that the order of the words has been reversed, the first-named being in reality the seed, and the second the root.

¹ *Alicorne* is the old Portuguese word for unicorn. The forms *alicorne*, *alicorno* and *licorno* are found. Compare the Italian *alicorno*.

wonderful thing, and very scarce. I have often asked these men how the *alicorne* was made, to which they replied that the true sort must be formed in horns like those of a goat, and must be obtained from inside these, for there are many horns of other animals like them, in which the distinguishing marks of these cannot be perceived.

And these *Jogues* also carry a stone which they call *para*,¹ which is found in the maw of an animal which

licorno, and the French *licorne*. Garcia de Orta used the form *locornio*. See Sir C. Marikham's note 1, p. 368 of the *Colloquies*. This should not be considered as a misprint for *Unicornes* as there stated, but a variant of the old term. *Alicorne* is still in use colloquially.

Here it is mentioned as a remedy for poison used as an alternative for the bezoar-stone, here called *para*. Mas'idi, writing in the tenth century, says that the horn of the rhinoceros (*el-karkadan*) is white with a dark figure in the middle, resembling a man, or a peacock or a fish. He says the horns were of great value, and sold for high prices for making ornamental girdles and other objects, but he does not allude to its property as a specific against poison. Possibly the "bone of an animal" which, according to Manucci, was an antidote against snakebite, was in reality rhinoceros horn (*Storia do Mogor*, III, 196).

Garcia de Orta (Thirty-first *Colloquy*, p. 270), says regarding this remedy, "I have never seen a rhinoceros, but I know that in Bengal they use the horn against poison, taking care it is the unicorn." But it has not got one, according to the testimony of those who well know. For the Nizamoxa would weigh two hundred ounces of gold against a little proved unicorn, and much more for a rhinoceros."

Further on he says, speaking of an African rhinoceros, "This animal fought bravely like an elephant, with its horn, which measures two palms, and it is said to be an antidote against poison, this being the common fame."

He evidently did not intend to say that the rhinoceros had no horn, whatever the true meaning of the first quoted passage may be. He has another allusion to "*Unicornio* or powdered *contra erva* of Malacca, which is good also for wounds from poisoned arrows" (*Colloquy* 17, p. 160).

The word *cocheduras* may be a blunder. I have not been able to trace its meaning. It is not now in use, and cannot be found in any dictionary. Probably it should be read *cornaduras*, horns.

¹ The word *para* here used represents the Persian *pāzahr* or "bezoar" stone, much famed as an antidote to poison. This word has been fully dealt with and illustrated with numerous quotations in *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. Bezoar. Some earlier mentions are given in *Cathay*, I, 246 and 251 (from Ibn Muhalhil, tenth century), and II, 162 (an allusion by Friar Odoric, fourteenth century, which M. Cordier considers refers to this stone).

Garcia de Orta alludes to it in his seventeenth *Colloquy*, p. 160, and devotes the whole of his forty-fifth *Colloquy* to it. He is mistaken in deriving the name "*Parar* from *Pasam* a goat," with which it has no

they call *pagem*; it is of the size of an almond, and grey. They give it moistened with rosewater to any man who has taken poison. "And drink it through a hollow reed, for if it touches the teeth, it breaks them; thus it destroys every poison and is held in great esteem among the Moors and great Lords. It is also found in Ormus, where it is sold by the *matical*. The animal in which it is found is a wild buck-goat."

etymological connection. Barbosa does not make this error, although he says that this stone is obtained from the stomach of the wild he-goat or *pagem*. This is doubtless correct. The wild buck-goat alluded to is the male of the ibex of Persia and Balochistan (*Capra Egagrus*). The word *pagem* stands for the Persian name *pāzan* or *pāsang* or the Balochi *pāshan*. The latter name is also applied to the male of another wild goat, the *mārkhōr* (*Capra megaceros*), but this species is not found near the coast, although common in the Northern Sulaimān mountains and Afghanistan. Mr. Blandford in his account of the Zoology of Eastern Persia and Balochistan (*Eastern Persia*, 1876, Vol. II, p. 89) considers that there is no doubt that

"the true bezoar, a calcareous concretion, to which extraordinary virtues were formerly attributed as an antidote to poison, is obtained from the stomach of this animal" (i.e., the ibex). He adds, "The governor of Karmān gave specimens to Major St. John and myself when we were at that city, and assured us that they were only to be obtained from the ibex inhabiting the hills between Karmān and Shirāz. They still bear a high value in Persia, being employed not only as an antidote to poison, but as a universal remedy for all diseases. They are also worn, enclosed in cases of filagree gold, by women. The specimen I possess is 0.75 in. long and 0.65 broad, egg-shaped, of a dark olive colour, with a highly polished surface. The size, shape and colour of these concretions are, however, variable."

Sir O. St. John in a note appended to the above, states that the male is called *pā-sang*, the "rock-footed," but this appears to be only a piece of popular etymology. The real Persian word is *pāzan*; no other form is given either in Vullers or in the *Burhān-i-kāfi*, where the equivalent given is *buz-i-kōhl* or "mountain goat."

It may be noted also that the Balochi *pāshan* is the etymological equivalent of *pāzan*, but not of *pā-sang*.

The true meaning of *pā-zan* may be "foot-striker," from the habit of wild goats of striking the rock with their feet.

Pā-zahr, the name of the bezoar stone, was naturally confused with the name of the animal from which it is obtained. The syllable *pā* here does not mean "foot" but "protection"; hence *pā-i-zahr*, "protection against poison."

The belief that the bezoar must be taken through a tube, so as not to touch the teeth, as otherwise it would break them, does not appear to be mentioned elsewhere.

APPENDIX

TRANSLATION OF CHAPTER II (HISTORY OF RANDER) OF MR. NARMDASHANKAR'S "PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF SURAT"

(1) It does not appear when Rander first came into existence ; all say that it is a very very old town. All that I have come to know from the books of Shevdas is this. That, before Vikram, the era of Mahavir* was current for 493 years. After 271 years of that era had passed there flourished a king named Sampatti, in whose time four temples were constructed in Rander. This would show that Rander was in a flourishing condition 2,200 to 2,300 years ago. Also, inscriptions show that the port of Broach was founded by King Siddhraj Jaysing of Patan, who reigned from 1091 to 1141 ; then why did he not establish his authority in Rander, which is only twenty kosses (*i.e.*, thirty miles) from Broach ? Moreover, in Orpad there is the temple of Sidhnath Mahadeo which is said to have been built by Siddhraj, and Rander is considered to belong to Orpad. That is to say, Rander was first under Hindu power. The Musalmans came in power there in the following way.

(2) Those who continued the Gadi of Mahomad Pegamber of the Musalmans were called Khalifas. One of these Khalifas, Abul Abad Sefa, formed a separate branch of his own called Abasi Khalifas in 750 A.D. Several people belonging to this Khalifa group, living in the town of Kufa (in Arabia) and known by the name of Malek Momins, a class of clever navigators, began to be persecuted by the followers of *Din* (followers of the old Muhammadan religion). Being unable to withstand the persecution, they came to and settled themselves in Rander as merchants. Here they came to be known as Naváyatas† or Náyatas. It does not appear when they came here, but some years or more after their coming here, they experienced harassment from the Jains. The Momins, very rich and spirited people as they were, raised the standard of religious revolt. Rander was the scene of bloodshed. At last, the Musalmans were victorious and they snatched the ruling power from the Hindus, demolished their temples and erected Masjids from the ruins of these temples A.H. 641,† *i.e.*, A.D. 1225.

* Mahavir, the last or twenty-fourth Tirthankar (*i.e.*, incarnation of God), flourished 1669 years before Kumarpal of Patan, and Kumarpal died in 1172 A.D. Thus Mahavir flourished in 497 B.C. Some give his date at 636 B.C.

† A new class of people, newly come and settled, were called "Naváyata." The Musalmans seem to have changed the name to "Naváyatas" which again was changed to Navátas. One of these is said to be a millionaire, *i.e.*, in his treasury there were fifty-six crores of rupees in cash and other property worth several lakhs of rupees. Popular belief has it that from a treasure of such immensity, a mysterious noise always comes out, or that the goddess of wealth (Laxmi) lives there.

‡ The year has been taken from inscriptions on stones of the Masjid.

(3) The noteworthy event about these Naváyatas in 1500 A.D. is that the town of Surat received its name from the name of *Suraj* who was the dancing girl kept by one of the Naváyatas. It is also said of the Naváyatas of 1600, that stories of the wealth and pompous life of the Naváyatas having reached the ears of the Emperor Jehangir of Delhi, he (Jehangir) came to see them personally. At first, the Emperor himself encamped at some distance from Rander. One morning, he rode on horseback for shooting to Ved, a village on the opposite side. There he met some Dheds whom he questioned, "Do you know Jehangirshah of Delhi." The Dheds replied, "It is you." The Emperor full of surprise at this answer, said, "I am not Jehangirshah." The Dheds again replied, "You are Jehangirshah." The Emperor inquired how they came to know him. The Dheds said "Nobody has told us about it; but you are Emperor Jehangirshah." The Emperor, thereupon, thought that if Dheds of that place were so shrewd, why should not the higher classes be very wise there. The Emperor then enquired about the Naváyatas and the Dheds replied that their wealth and pomp were incalculable. The Emperor gave several Pasayatas (grants of free land) to the Dheds and returned to his camp. Dheds of Ved still enjoy free grants of land.

(4) The place in Rander where the Emperor's Begam encamped is still known as Jehangirabad and the place where the Emperor and his army encamped is known as Jehangirpura. It is said that on the day on which the Naváyata (leader) gave a dinner to the Emperor, carpets of gold-embroidered cloth were spread on the ground from the palace of the Naváyata to Jehangirabad on one side and to Jehangirpura on the other, both on the first and return journey, and they were subsequently given away. The dinner was served to all in silver dishes and golden cups, which were also given away to those who dined in them. Very great Nazaranas were made to the Emperor in addition. The Emperor was greatly pleased, and desired the Naváyata to ask for something (*i.e.* some favour or boon or concession). The Naváyata replied that God had given him much and that there was nothing which he would want. The Emperor insisted on his asking for something. The Naváyata then said that he had a desire for long to see the intercourse between elephants, and requested the Emperor to fulfil it. The Emperor accepted it with reluctance and ordered his Mahavats (elephant-drivers) to fulfil it when he had reached the Nabhada. It is believed that the downfall of the Naváyata began from that day. One day he would hear the news of the wreck of one of his ships; on another of the death of a member of his family. In a few years, the Naváyata family came to the verge of extinction, and to-day there remains only an old deaf man in their line.*

(5) The Nawabs of Surat began to rule over Rander from the day on which Surat fell into their hands. The Phirangis (*i.e.*, Portuguese) had never entered Rander. Rander to-day appears to be a great but declining town.

NOTE.—The word "Naváyata" can be derived in two ways. Firstly, *Nava* = new and *Ayáta* = come (part participle) *i.e.*, new-comer. Secondly, *Nava* = new and *Ayata* = unrestrained, *i.e.*, new and unrestrained men. The second derivation suggests fresh immigration as well as immense wealth and fanatic spirit and unruly nature of these Arabs, who may be more or less piratic in their original homes in Arabia.

* I have seen this old man, Dosamia by name, as also the sites of his palaces. He pursued the same vocation of navigator as his ancestors.

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- 1899 Aberdare, The Right Hon. Lord, 83, Eaton Square, S.W.1.
 1847 Aberdeen University Library, Aberdeen.
 1913 Abraham, Lieut. H. C., "Roslyn," Hambrough Road, Ventnor.
 1895 Adelaide Public Library, North Terrace, Adelaide, South Australia.
 1847 Admiralty, The, Whitehall, S.W.1. [2 COPIES.]
 1847 Advocates' Library, 11, Parliament Square, Edinburgh.
 1847 All Souls College, Oxford.
 1847 American Geographical Society, 11, West 81st Street, New York City, U.S.A.
 1901 Andrews, Capt. F., R.N., H.M. Dockyard, Malta.
 1906 Andrews, Michael C., Esq., 17, University Square, Belfast.
 1847 Antiquaries, The Society of, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1.
 1909 Armstrong, Capt. B. H. O., R.E.
 1847 Army and Navy Club, 36, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1847 Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1912 Aylward, R. M., Esq., 7a, Avenida Sur, No. 87, Guatemala.
 1899 Baer, Joseph & Co., Messrs., Hochstrasse 6, Frankfort-on-Main, Germany.
 1847 Bagram, John Ernest, Esq., 10, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.
 1909 Baldwin, Stanley, Esq., M.P., Astley Hall, nr. Stourport.
 1899 Ball, John B., Esq., Ashburton Cottage, Putney Heath, S.W.15.
 1918 Bannerman, Capt. David A., 6, Palace Gardens Terrace, Kensington, W.18.
 1893 Barclay, Hugh Gurney, Esq., M.V.O., Colney Hall, Norwich.
 1911 Barwick, G. F., Esq., British Museum, W.C.1.
 1899 Bassot, M. René, Directeur de l'Ecole Supérieure des Lettres d'Alger, Villa Louise, rue Denfert Rochereau, Algiers.
 1894 Baxter, Hon. James Phinney Esq., 61, Deering Street, Portland, Maine, U.S.A.
 1913 Beaumont, Major, H., Rhoscolyn, Holyhead, N. Wales.
 1904 Bectem, Charles Gilbert, Esq., 110, South Hanover Street, Carlisle, Pa., U.S.A.
 1899 Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge, Donegall Square North, Belfast.
 1913 Belfield, T. Broom, Esq., 1905, Spring Garden Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
 1896 Belhaven and Stenton, Col. The Right Hon. the Lord, R.E., 41, Lennox Gardens, S.W.1. (Vice-President).
 1913 Bennett, Ira A. Esq., Editor *Washington Post*, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
 1847 Berlin Geographical Society (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde), Wilhelmstrasse 23, Berlin, S.W., 48.
 1847 Berlin, the Royal Library of, Opernplatz, Berlin, W.
 1847 Berlin University, Geographical Institute of, Georgenstrasse 34-36, Berlin, N.W.7.
 1914 Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii Island.
 1913 Beuf, L., 6, Via Caroli, Genoa.
 1913 Bewsher, F. W., Esq.
 1911 Bingham, Professor Hiram, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
 1899 Birmingham Central Free Library, Ratoliff Place, Birmingham.

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- 1847 Birmingham Old Library, The, Margaret Street, Birmingham.
 1910 Birmingham University Library.
 1899 Board of Education, The Keeper, Science Library, Science Museum,
 South Kensington, S.W.7.
 1847 Bodleian Library, Oxford.
 1917 Bombay University Library, Bombay.
 1894 Bonaparte, H. H. Prince Roland Napoléon, Avenue d'Jéna 10, Paris.
 1847 Boston Athenæum Library, 10½, Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1847 Boston Public Library, Copley Square, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1912 Bourke, Hubert, Esq., Feltham, Harlow, Essex.
 1899 Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, U.S.A.
 1894 Bower, Major-General Sir Hamilton, K.C.B., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co.,
 16, Charing Cross, S.W.1.
 1912 Boyd-Richardson, Lieutenant S. B., R.N., Wade Court, Havant,
 Hants.
 1914 Braislin, Dr. William C., 425 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn, U.S.A.
 1906 Brereton, The Rev. William, c/o S.P.G., 15, Tufton Street, Westminster, S.W.1.
 1893 Brighton Public Library, Royal Pavilion, Church Street, Brighton.
 1890 British Guiana Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society, Georgetown, Demerara.
 1847 British Museum, Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities
 1847 British Museum, Department of Printed Books.
 1896 Brook, Henry G., Esq., 1612, Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.,
 U.S.A.
 1909 Brooke, John Arthur, Esq., J.P., Fonay Hall, Huddersfield.
 1899 Brookline Public Library, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1899 Brooklyn Mercantile Library, 197, Montague Street, Brooklyn, N.Y.,
 U.S.A.
 1899 Brown, Arthur William Whateley, Esq., Sharvells, Milford-on-Sea,
 Hants.
 1916 Browne, Prof. Edward G., M.A., M.B., Firwood, Trumpington Road,
 Cambridge.
 1896 Buda Pesth, The Geographical Institute of the University of, Hungary.
 1910 Buenos Aires, Biblioteca Nacional (c/o E. Terquem, 19, Rue Scribe,
 Paris).
 1890 Burns, Capt. John William, Leesthorpe Hall, Melton Mowbray.
 1914 Byers, Gerald, Esq., c/o Messrs. Butterfield and Swire, Shanghai.
 1913 Cadogan, Lieut.-Commander Francis, R.N., Hatherop Castle, Fairford,
 Gloucestershire.
 1903 California, University of, Berkeley, Cal., U.S.A.
 1847 Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.
 1911 Canada, Department of the Naval Service, Ottawa.
 1847 Canada, The Parliament Library, Ottawa.
 1896 Cardiff Public Library, Trinity Street, Cardiff.
 1847 Carlisle, Rosalind, Countess of, Castle Howard, York.
 1847 Carlton Club Library, 94, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1899 Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A.
 1914 Casserly, John Bernard, Esq., San Mateo, California, U.S.A.
 1910 Cattarns, Richard, Esq., Great Somerford, Wilts.
 1899 Chambers, Captain Bertram Mordaunt, R.N., c/o Messrs. Cocks,
 Biddulph and Co., 43, Charing Cross, S.W.1.
 1910 Chapelot et Cie., 30, Rue et Passage Dauphine, Paris.
 1913 Charleston Library, Charleston, U.S.A.
 1910 Chicago, Geographical Society of, P.O. Box 223, Chicago.
 1899 Chicago Public Library, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1899 Chicago University Library, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.

- 1896 Christ Church, Oxford.
 1847 Christiania University Library, Christiania, Norway.
 1899 Cincinnati Public Library, Ohio, U.S.A.
 1907 Clark, Arthur H., Esq., Caxton Buildings, Cleveland, Ohio.
 1913 Clark, James Cooper, Esq., Ladyhill House, Elgin, N.B.
 1913 Clarke, Sir Rupert, Bart., Clarke Buildings, Bourke Street, Melbourne.
 1917 Clements, R. V., Esq., 3, Chapel Field North, Norwich.
 1913 Coates, O. R., Esq., British Consulate-General, Shanghai.
 1847 Colonial Office, The, Downing Street, S.W.1.
 1899 Columbia University, Library of, New York, U.S.A.
 1918 Commonwealth Parliament Library, Melbourne.
 1896 Conway, Sir William Martin, M.P., Allington Castle, Maidstone, Kent.
 1903 Cooke, William Charles, Esq., Vailima, Bishopstown, Cork.
 1847 Copenhagen Royal Library (Det Store Kongelige Bibliothek), Copenhagen.
 1847 Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A.
 1903 Corney, Bolton Glanvill, Esq., I.S.O., 4 Clarges Street, Piccadilly, W.1.
 1899 Corning, C. R., Esq., 36 Wall Street, New York.
 1893 Cow, John, Esq., Elfinward, Hayward's Heath, Sussex.
 1902 Cox, Alexander G., Esq., Engineer-in-Chief's Office, Canton-Hankow Railway, Hankow, China.
 1908 Crewdson, W., Esq., J.P., Southside, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1904 Croydon Public Libraries, Central Library, Town Hall, Croydon.
 1893 Curzon of Kedleston, The Right Hon. Earl, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., 1, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.1.
 1911 Cutting, Lady Sybil, o/o the Earl of Desart, 2, Rutland Gardens, S.W.7.
 1913 Dalglish, Percy, Esq., Guatemala, C.A.
 1847 Dalton, Rev. Canon John Neale, C.V.O., C.M.G., 4, The Cloisters, Windsor.
 1917 Damer-Powell, Lieut. J. W., R.N.R., H.M.S. "Irene Wray," Naval Base, Lowestoft.
 1913 Dames, Mansel Longworth, Esq., Crichmere, Edgeborough Road, Guildford.
 1899 Dampier, Gerald Robert, Esq., I.C.S., Dehra Dun, N.W.P., India.
 1847 Danish Royal Navy Library (Marinens Bibliothek), Grønningen, Copenhagen, K.
 1912 Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, N.H., U.S.A.
 1908 Darwin, Major Leonard, late R.E., 12, Egerton Place, S.W.3.
 1894 De Bertodano, Baldemero Hyacinth, Esq., Cowbridge House, Malmesbury, Wilts.
 1911 Delbanco, D., Esq., 9, Mincing Lane, E.C.3.
 1899 Detroit Public Library, Michigan, U.S.A.
 1893 Dijon University Library, Rue Monge, Dijon, Côte d'Or, France.
 1899 Dresden Geographical Society (Verein für Erdkunde), Kleine Brüdergasse 21¹¹, Dresden.
 1902 Dublin, Trinity College Library.
 1910 Dunn, J. H., Esq., Coombe Cottage, Kingston Hill, S.W.15.
 1917 Durban Municipal Library, Natal (Mr. George Royburn, Librarian).
 1899 École Française d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi, Indo Chine Française.
 1913 École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris.
 1905 Edge-Partington, J., Esq., Wyngates, Burke's Rd., Beaconsfield.
 1892 Edinburgh Public Library, George IV. Bridge, Edinburgh.
 1847 Edinburgh University Library, Edinburgh.
 1847 Edwards, Francis, Esq., 83, High Street, Marylebone, W.1.

- 1913 Eliot, Sir Charles, K.C.M.G., C.B., The University, Hong Kong.
 1906 Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
 1917 Essex Institute, The, Salem, Massachusetts, U.S.A.
 1917 Evans, J. Fred, Esq., 219K. Street, Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A.
 1912 Ewing, Arthur, Esq.
 1910 Fairbrother, Colonel W. T., C.B., Indian Army, Bareilly, N.P., India.
 1911 Fayal, The Most Noble the Marquis de, Lisbon.
 1899 Fellowes Athenæum, 46, Millmont Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1894 Fisher, Arthur, Esq., The Mazry, Tiverton, Devon.
 1896 Fitzgerald, Major Edward Arthur, 5th Dragoon Guards.
 1914 FitzGibbon, F. J., Esq., Calle Manuel Montt 2106, Santiago de Chile.
 1847 Foreign Office of Germany (Auswärtiges Amt), Wilhelmstrasse, Berlin, W.
 1893 Forrest, Sir George William, C.I.E., Rose Bank, Iffley, Oxford.
 1902 Foster, Francis Apthorp, Esq., Edgartown, Mass., U.S.A.
 1893 Foster, William, Esq., C.I.E., India Office, S.W.1.
 1911 Garcia, Señor Genaro, Apartado 337, Mexico D.F.
 1913 Gardner, Harry G., Esq., Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, Hankow, China.
 1847 George, Charles William, Esq., 51, Hampton Road, Bristol.
 1901 Gill, William Harrison, Esq., Marunouchi, Tokyo.
 1847 Glasgow University Library, Glasgow.
 1913 Glyn, The Hon. Mrs. Maurice, Albury Hall, Much Hadham.
 1880 Godman, Frederick Du Cane, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., 45, Pont Street, S.W.1.
 1847 Göttingen University Library, Göttingen, Germany.
 1914 Gottschalk, Hon. A. L. M., American Consul-General, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
 1877 Gray, Albert, Esq., C.B., K.C. (*President*), Catherine Lodge, Trafalgar Square, Chelsea, S.W.3.
 1903 Greenlee, William B., Esq., 855, Buena Av., Chicago Ill., U.S.A.
 1899 Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1847 Guildhall Library, E.C.2.
 1887 Guillemard, Francis Henry Hill, Esq., M.A., M.D., The Old Mill House, Trumpington, Cambridge.
 1910 Hackley Public Library, Muskegon, Mich, U.S.A.
 1847 Hamburg Commerz, Bibliothek, Hamburg, Germany.
 1901 Hammersmith Public Libraries, Carnegie (Central) Library, Hammersmith, W.6.
 1898 Hannen, The Hon. Henry Arthur, The Hall, West Farleigh, Kent.
 1916 Harrington, S. T., Esq., M.A., Methodist College, St. John's, Newfoundland.
 1906 Harrison, Carter H., Esq., 307, West State Street, Trenton (N.J.).
 1913 Harrison, George L., Esq., 400, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
 1905 Harrison, William P., Esq., c/o The First National Bank, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
 1847 Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
 1899 Harvie-Brown, John Alexander, Esq., Dumipace, Larbert, Stirlingshire.
 1913 Hay, E. Alan, Esq., Bengoe House, Hertford.
 1887 Heawood, Edward, Esq., M.A., Church Hill, Merstham, Surrey (*Treasurer*).
 1899 Heidelberg University Library, Heidelberg (Koestersche Buchhandlung)

- 1904 Henderson, George, Esq., 13, Palace Court, W.2.
 1915 Henderson, Capt. R. Ronald, Little Compton Manor, Moreton-in-Marsh.
 1899 Hiersemann, Herr Karl Wilhelm, Königsstrasse, 3, Leipzig.
 1917 Hinks, Arthur Robert, Esq., F.R.S., Sec. R.G.S., 17, St. Petersburg Place, W.2.
 1874 Hippisley, Alfred Edward, Esq., 8, Herbert Crescent, Hans Place, S.W.1.
 1913 Holman, R. H., Esq., "Wynnstay," Putney Hill, S.W.15.
 1913 Hong Kong University, c/o Messrs. Longmans & Co., 38, Paternoster Row, E.C.4.
 1899 Hoover, Herbert Clarke, Esq., The Red House, Hornton Street, Kensington, W.8.
 1887 Horner, Sir John Francis Fortescue, K.C.V.O., Mells Park, Frome, Somerset.
 1911 Hoskins, G. H., Esq., c/o G. & C. Hoskins, Wattle Street, Ultimo, Sydney, N.S.W.
 1915 Howland, S. S., Esq., Ritz Hotel, W.1.
 1890 Hoyt Public Library, East Saginaw, Mich., U.S.A.
 1909 Hubbard, H. M., Esq., H6, The Albany, Piccadilly, W.1.
 1899 Hügel, Baron Anatole A. A. von, Curator, Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, Cambridge.
 1894 Hull Public Libraries, Baker Street, Hull.
 1913 Humphreys, John, Esq.
 1915 Hyde, Charles, Esq., 2 Woodbourne Road, Edgbaston.
 1912 Illinois, University of, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
 1899 Im Thurn, Sir Everard, K.C.M.G., C.B., 39, Lexham Gardens, W.8.
 1847 India Office, Downing Street, S.W.1. [8 COPIES.]
 1899 Ingle, William Bruncker, Esq., 10 Pond Road, Blackheath, S.E.3.
 1892 Inner Temple, Hon. Society of the Temple, E.C.4.
 1916 Ireland, National Library of, Dublin.
 1899 Jackson, Stewart Douglas, Esq., 61, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.
 1898 James, Arthur Curtiss, Esq., 39, East 69th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
 1896 James, Walter B., Esq., M.D., 7, East 70th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
 1912 Jenkins, Captain F. W. R., Apartado 331, Guatemala.
 1907 Johannesburg Public Library, Johannesburg, South Africa.
 1847 John Carter Brown Library, 357, Benefit Street, Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.
 1847 John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester.
 1847 John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
 1910 Jones, L. C., Esq., M.D., Falmouth, Mass., U.S.A.
 1914 Jones, Livingston E., Esq., Germantown, Pa., U.S.A.
 1913 Jowett, The Rev. Hardy, Ping Kiang, Hunan, China.
 1903 Kansas University Library, Lawrence, Kans., U.S.A.
 1917 Kay, Richard, Esq., 1 Brazil Street, Manchester.
 1887 Keltie, Sir John Scott, LL.D., 1, Kensington Gore, S.W.7.
 1909 Kesteven, C. H., Esq., 2, Hungerford Street, Calcutta.
 1899 Kiel, Royal University of, Kiel, Schleswig-Holstein.
 1898 Kinder, Claude William, Esq., C.M.G., "Braeken," Churt, Nr. Farnham, Surrey.
 1890 King's Inns, The Hon. Society of the, Henrietta Street, Dublin.
 1899 Kitching, John, Esq., Oaklands, Queen's Road, Kingston Hill, S.W.15.
 1912 Koebel, W. H., Esq., Author's Club, 2, Whitehall Court, S.W.1.

- 1913 Koloniaal Instituut, Amsterdam.
 1910 Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie. The Hague.
- 1899 Langton, J. J. P., Esq., 802, Spruce Street, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.
 1899 Larchmont Yacht Club, Larchmont, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1913 Laufer, Berthold, Esq., Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.
 1899 Leeds Library, 18, Commercial Street, Leeds.
 1899 Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa., U.S.A.
 1918 Le Hunte, Sir George R., G.C.M.G., Coombe Meadows, Ascot, Berkshire.
- 1893 Leipzig, Library of the University of Leipzig.
 1912 Leland Stanford Junior University, Library of, Stanford University, Cal., U.S.A.
- 1918 Lethbridge, Alan B., Esq., Stookwood House, Keynsham, Somerset.
 1912 Lind, Walter, Esq., 1^o Calle, Guatemala, C.A.
 1847 Liverpool Free Public Library, William Brown Street, Liverpool.
 1896 Liverpool Geographical Society, 14, Hargreaves Buildings, Chapel Street, Liverpool.
 1899 Liverpool, University of Liverpool.
- 1911 Loder, Gerald W. E., Esq., F.S.A., Wakehurst Place, Ardingly, Sussex.
- 1899 Loeschor, Messrs. J., and Co., Via Due Macelli, 88, Rome.
 1847 London Institution, 11, Finsbury Circus, E.C.2.
 1847 London Library, 12, St. James's Square, S.W.1.
 1899 London University, South Kensington, S.W.7.
 1895 Long Island Historical Society, Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.
- 1899 Los Angeles Public Library, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
 1899 Lowrey, Sir Joseph, K.B.E., The Hermitage, Loughton, Essex.
 1912 Luard, Major Charles Eckford, M.A., D.S.O., Indore, Central India.
 1880 Lucas, Sir Charles Prestwood, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., 65, St. George's Square, S.W.1.
- 1896 Lucas, Frederic Wm., Esq., 21, Surrey Street, Strand, W.C.2.
 1912 Lukach, H. C., Esq., M.A., Government House, Cyprus.
 1898 Lydenberg, H. M., Esq., New York Public Library, Fifth Avenue and Forty-second Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1880 Lyons University Library, Lyon, France.
 1899 Lyttelton-Annesley, Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Lyttelton, K.C.V.O., Templemere, Oatlands Park, Weybridge.
- 1899 Macrae, Charles Colin, Esq., 50 Holland Street, W.8.
 1908 Maggs Brothers, Messrs., 109, Strand, W.C.2.
 1847 Manchester Public Free Libraries, King Street, Manchester.
 1916 Manchester University (o/o J. E. Cornish, St. Ann's Square).
 1899 Manierre, George, Esq., 112w, Adams Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1892 Marquand, Henry, Esq., Whitegates Farm, Bedford, New York, U.S.A.
- 1899 Martelli, Ernest Wynne, Esq., 4, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.2.
 1847 Massachusetts Historical Society, 1154, Boylston Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1905 Maudslay, Alfred Percival, Esq., Morney Cross, Hereford.
 1899 McOlurg, Messrs. A. C., & Co., 215-221, Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
- 1914 Means, Philip A., Esq., 196, Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A.
 1913 Mensing, A. W. M., Esq., (Frederik Muller and Co.), Amsterdam.

- 1901 Merriman, J. A., Esq., o/o T. M. Merriman, Esq., 96, Finchley Road, Hampstead, N.W.3.
- 1911 Messer, Allan E., Esq., 2, Lyall Street, Belgrave Square, S.W.1.
- 1913 Meyendorff, Baron de, Ambassade de Russie, Madrid.
- 1893 Michigan, University of, Ann Arbor, Mich., U.S.A.
- 1899 Middletown, Conn., Wesleyan University Library, U.S.A.
- 1904 Mikkelsen, Michael A., Esq., 610, South Fifth Avenue, Mt. Vernon, New York.
- 1847 Mills, Colonel Dudley Acland, R.E., Droaks, Beaulieu, Hants.
- 1912 Milward, Graham, Esq., 77, Colmore Row, Birmingham.
- 1896 Milwaukee Public Library, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, U.S.A.
- 1895 Minneapolis Atheneum, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
- 1899 Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota, U.S.A.
- 1899 Mitchell Library, 21, Miller Street, Glasgow.
- 1899 Mitchell, Wm., Esq., 14, Forbesfield Road, Aberdeen.
- 1902 Mombasa Club Library, Mombasa, o/o Messrs. Richardson & Co., 26, King Street, St. James', S.W.1.
- 1899 Monson, The Right Hon. Lord, C.V.O., Burton Hall, Lincoln.
- 1918 Moore-Bennett, Arthur J., Esq., Peking, China
- 1918 Moreland, W. Harrison, Esq., C.S.I., C.L.E., Bengoe Old Vicarage, Hertford.
- 1901 Moreno, Dr. Francisco J., La Plata Museum, La Plata, Argentine Republic.
- 1893 Morris, Henry Cecil Low, Esq., M.D., The Steyne, Bognor, Sussex.
- 1899 Morrison, George Ernest, Esq., M.D., H.B.M. Legation, Peking.
- 1899 Morrison, James W., Esq., 200-206, Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
- 1895 Moxon, Alfred Edward, Esq., The Hazells, Spencer Road, New Milton, Hants.
- 1899 Mukhopadhyay, Hon. Sir Asutosh, Kt., C.S.I., D.Sc., LL.D., 77, Russa Road North, Bhowanipur, Calcutta.
- 1847 Munich Royal Library (Kgl. Hof u. Staats-Bibliothek), Munich, Germany.
- 1913 Natal Society's Library, Pietermaritzburg, S. Africa.
- 1899 Nathan, Lt.-Col. Sir Matthew, G.C.M.G., R.E., The Albany, W.1.
- 1894 Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W.1.
- 1909 Nebraska University Library, Lincoln, Nebraska, U.S.A.
- 1913 Needham, J. E., Esq., Bombay Club, Bombay.
- 1880 Netherlands, Royal Geographical Society of the (Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap), Singel 421, Amsterdam.
- 1899 Netherlands, Royal Library of the, The Hague.
- 1847 Newberry Library, The, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
- 1847 Newcastle-upon-Tyne Literary and Philosophical Society, Westgate Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- 1899 Newcastle-upon-Tyne Public Library, New Bridge Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- 1899 New South Wales, Public Library of, Sydney, N.S.W.
- 1899 New York Athletic Club, Central Park, South, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1895 New York Public Library, 40, Lafayette Place, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1847 New York State Library, Albany, New York, U.S.A.
- 1894 New York Yacht Club, 37 West 44 Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1897 New Zealand, The High Commissioner for, 13, Victoria Street, S.W.1.
- 1917 Nicoll, Lieut. C. L. J., Royal Indian Marine, o/o Director R.I.M., Bombay.

- 1911 Nijhoff, Martinus, The Hague, Holland.
 1896 North Adams Public Library, Massachusetts, U.S.A.
 1893 Northcliffe, The Right Hon. Lord, Elmwood, St. Peter's, Thanet.
 1917 Northwestern University Library, Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A.
 1899 Nottingham Public Library, Sherwood Street, Nottingham.
- 1916 Ober, John Hambleton, Esq., Charles and Saratoga Streets, Baltimore, Ind., U.S.A.
 1890 Oriental Club, 18, Hanover Square, W.1.
 1902 Otani, Kozui, Esq., Nishi Honganji, Horikawa, Kyoto, Japan.
 1899 Oxford and Cambridge Club, 71, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1847 Oxford Union Society, Oxford.
- 1911 Pan-American Union, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
 1847 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rue de Richelieu, Paris.
 1847 Paris, Institut de France, Quai de Conti 23, Paris.
 1880 Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
 1847 Peckover of Wisbech, The Right Hon. Lord, Bank House, Wisbech (Vice-President).
 1893 Peek, Sir Wilfred, Bart., c/o Mr. Grover, Rousdon, Lyme Regis.
 1904 Peirce, Harold, Esq., 222, Drexel Building, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
 1911 Penrose, R. A. F., Esq., Bullitt Buildings, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
 1919 Penzer, N. M., Esq., 12, Clifton Hill, St. John's Wood, N.W.8.
 1899 Pequot Library, Southport, Conn., U.S.A.
 1913 Petersen, V., Esq., Chinese Telegraph Administration, Peking, China.
 1895 Philadelphia Free Library, Pa., U.S.A.
 1899 Philadelphia, Library Company of, N.W. corner Juniper & Locust Streets, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
 1899 Philadelphia, Union League Club, 8, Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
 1909 Plymouth, Officers' Library, Royal Marine Barracks.
 1899 Plymouth Proprietary and Cottonian Library, Cornwall Street, Plymouth.
- 1899 Portico Library, 57, Mosley Street, Manchester.
 1919 Potter, J. Wilson, Esq., Eton Mill, nr. Godalming, Surrey.
 1916 Princeton University Library, Princeton (N.J.), U.S.A.
 1912 Provincial Library of British Columbia, Victoria, British Columbia.
 1911 Pykett, The Rev. G. F., Anglo-Chinese School, Methodist Epis. Mission, Penang.
- 1894 Quaritch, Bernard, Esq., 11, Grafton Street, New Bond Street, W.1. (12 COPIES).
 1913 Queen's University, The, Kingston, Ontario, Canada.
 1913 Quincey, Edmund de Q., Esq., Oakwood, Chislehurst.
- 1890 Raffles Museum and Library, Singapore.
 1914 Rawson, Lieut. G., Royal Indian Marine, Bombay.
 1847 Reform Club, 104, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1895 Rhodes, Josiah, Esq., The Elms, Lytham, Lancashire.
 1907 Ricketts, D. P., Esq., Imperial Chinese Railways, Tientsin, China.
 1882 Riggs, T. L., Esq., 1311, Mass. Avenue, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
 1911 Rio de Janeiro, Arquivo Publico Nacional, Sa da Republica, No. 26.
 1917 Robertson, Wheatley B., Esq., c/o Messrs, Thos. Cook & Sons, Rangoon, Burma.
- 1917 Rodger, A., Esq., F.L.S., Rossendale, Maymyo, Burma.
 1906 Rotterdamsch Leeskabinet, Rotterdam.
 1917 Rouse, W. H. D., Esq., Litt.D., Perse School House, Glebe Road, Cambridge.
 1917 Routledge, W. S., Esq., 9 Cadogan Mansions, Sloane Square, S.W.1.

- 1911 Royal Anthropological Institute, 50, Great Russell Street, W.C.1.
 1847 Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.2.
 1896 Royal Cruising Club, 1, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.1.
 1847 Royal Engineers' Institute, Chatham.
 1847 Royal Geographical Society, Kensington Gore, S.W.7.
 1890 Royal Scottish Geographical Society, Synod Hall, Castle Terrace, Edinburgh.
 1897 Royal Societies Club, 63, St. James's Street, S.W.1.
 1847 Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W.1.
 1899 Runciman, The Right Hon. Walter, M.P., Doxford, Chathill, Northumberland.
 1904 Ruxton, Captain Upton Fitz Herbert, Little Drove House, Singleton, Sussex.
 1900 Ryley, John Horton, Esq., 8, Rue d'Auteuil, Paris.
- 1899 St. Andrews University, St. Andrews.
 1899 St. Deiniol's Library, Hawarden, Flintshire, N. Wales.
 1890 St. Louis Mercantile Library, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.
 1899 St. Martin-in-the-Fields Free Public Library, 115, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.2.
 1847 St. Petersburg University Library, St. Petersburg.
 1894 St. Vladimir University, Kiev, Russia.
 1911 Saiso, Walter, Esq., D.Sc., M. Inst. C.E., Stapleton, Bristol.
 1913 Salby, George, Esq., 65, Great Russell Street, W.C.1. [2 COPIES.]
 1915 San Antonio, Scientific Society of, 1 and 3, Stevens Buildings, San Antonio, Texas, U.S.A.
 1899 San Francisco Public Library, Civic Centre, San Francisco, Cal., U.S.A.
 1899 Solater, Dr. William Lutley, 10, Sloane Court, S.W.1.
 1899 Seattle Public Library, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A.
 1894 Seymour, Admiral of the Fleet the Right Hon. Sir Edward Hobart, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.V.O., LL.D., Queen Anne's Mansions, St. James's Park, S.W.1. (Vice-President).
 1898 Sheffield Free Public Libraries, Surrey Street, Sheffield.
 1914 Sheppard, S. T., Esq., Byculla Club, Bombay, No. 8.
 1847 Signet Library, 11, Parliament Square, Edinburgh.
 1890 Sinclair, Mrs. William Frederic, 102, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W.10.
 1910 Skimming, E. H. B., Esq., 6, Cleveland Terrace, W.2.
 1913 Skinner, Major R. M., R.A.M. Corps, c/o Messrs. Holt and Co., 3, Whitehall Place, S.W.1.
 1912 Skipper, Mervyn G., Esq., care of Eastern Extensions Tel. Co., Perth, W. Australia.
 1917 Smith, Miss D. Lawrence, 31, Portman Square, W.1.
 1906 Smith, J. de Berniere, Esq., 4, Gloucester Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.1.
 1913 Smith, The Right Hon. James Parker, Linburn, Kirknewton, Midlothian.
 1904 Smith, John Langford, Esq., H. B. M. Consular Service, China, c/o E. Greenwood, Esq., Frith Knowl, Elstree.
 1918 Smith, Capt. R. Parker, Clarendon Road, Brooklands Avenue, Cambridge.
 1899 Società Geografica Italiana, Via del Plebiscito 102, Rome.
 1847 Société de Géographie, Boulevard St. Gormain, 184, Paris.
 1899 South African Public Library, Queen Victoria Street, Cape Town, South Africa.
 1916 Soutter, Lieut.-Commander James J., H.M.S. Malaya, c/o G.P.O.
 1904 Stanton, John, Esq., High Street, Chorley, Lancashire.

- 1916 Stein, Sir Aurel, K.C.I.E., D.Sc., D.Litt., Stein Collection, British Museum, W.C.1.
- 1912 Stein, Herr Johann, K. Ungar, Universitäts-Buchhandlung, Kolozsvár, Hungary.
- 1918 Stephen, A. G., Esq., Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Shanghai.
- 1847 Stevens, Son, and Stiles, Messrs. Henry, 39, Great Russell Street, W.C.1.
- 1847 Stockholm, Royal Library of (Kungl. Biblioteket), Sweden.
- 1895 Stockton Public Library, Stockton, Cal., U.S.A.
- 1905 Storer, Albert H., Esq., Ridgefield, Ct., U.S.A.
- 1890 Strachey, Lady, 6 Belsize Park Gardens, N.W.3.
- 1904 Suarez, Colonel Don Pedro (Bolivian Legation), Santa Cruz, 74, Compayne Gardens, N.W.6.
- 1909 Swan, J. D. C., Dr., o/o Messrs. Holt & Co., 3, Whitehall Place, S.W.1.
- 1908 Sydney, University of, New South Wales.
- 1899 Sykes, Brigadier General Sir Percy Molesworth, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., Broadway.
- 1914 Taylor, Frederic W., Esq., 1529, Niagara Street, Denver, Colorado, U.S.A.
- 1917 Taylour, Charles, Esq., Belmont Road, Sharples, Lancs.
- 1910 Teleki, Count Paul, Jozsef-tér., 7, Budapest V.
- 1899 Temple, Lieut.-Col. Sir Richard Carnac, Bart., C.B., C.I.E., India Office, S.W.1.
- 1916 Thompson, Lieut. H. H., R.N.V.R., R. N. Airship Station, Anglesey.
- 1894 Thomson, Basil Home, Esq., C.B., 81, Victoria Road, Kensington, W.8.
- 1906 Thomson, Colonel Charles FitzGerald, late 7th Hussars, Kilkenny House, Sion Hill, Bath.
- 1915 Thorne, J. A., Esq., I.C.S., Calicut, Malabar, India.
- 1904 Todd, Commander George James, R.N., The Manse, Kingsbarns, Fife.
- 1896 Toronto Public Library, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
- 1890 Toronto University, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
- 1911 Tower, Sir Reginald, K.C.M.G., C.V.O., British Legation, Buenos Aires.
- 1847 Travellers' Club, 106, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
- 1899 Trinder, Arnold, Esq., River House, Walton-on-Thames.
- 1913 Trinder, W. H., Esq., The Old Vicarage, Kingswood, Surrey.
- 1847 Trinity College, Cambridge.
- 1847 Trinity House, The Hon. Corporation of, Tower Hill, E.C.3.
- 1911 Tuckerman, Paul, Esq., 59, Wall Street, New York, U.S.A.
- 1916 Tufts College Library, Tufts College, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1890 Turnbull, Alexander H., Esq., Elibank, Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1902 Tweedy, Arthur H., Esq., Widmore Lodge, Widmore, Bromley, Kent.
- 1847 United States Congress, Library of, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
- 1899 United States National Museum (Library of), Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
- 1847 United States Naval Academy Library, Annapolis, Md., U.S.A.
- 1916 University Club Library, Fifth Avenue and 54th Street, New York, U.S.A.
- 1847 Upsala University Library, Upsala, Sweden (o/o Simpkin, Marshall).
- 1911 Van Ortrooy, Professor F., Université de Gand, Belgium.
- 1913 Vasquez, Señor Don Ricardo, Guatemala, C.A.
- 1899 Vernon, Roland Venables, Esq., o/o Ministry of Munitions, Whitehall, Gardens, S.W.1.
- 1899 Victoria, Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery of, Melbourne, Australia.

- 1847 Vienna Imperial Library (K. K. Hof-Bibliothek), Vienna.
 1905 Vienna, K. K. Geographische Gesellschaft, Wollzeile 33, Vienna.
 1887 Vignaud, Henry, Esq., LL.D., 2, Rue de la Mairie, Bagneux (Seine), France.
 1912 Villa, Dr. F. Luis de, Banco Colombiano, Guatemala, C.A.
 1909 Villiers, J. A. J. de, Esq., British Museum (*Hon. Secretary*) (2).
 1904 Wagner, Herrn H., and E. Debes, Geographische Anstalt, Brüderstrasse, 23, Leipzig.
 1902 War Office, Mobilisation and Intelligence Library, Whitehall, S.W.1.
 1847 Washington, Department of State, D.C., U.S.A.
 1847 Washington, Library of Navy Department, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
 1899 Watanabe, Count Akira, 4 Shimotakanawamachi, Shibaku, Tokyo, Japan.
 1899 Watkinson, Library, Hartford, Connecticut, U.S.A.
 1899 Weld, Rev. George Francis, Weldwold, Santa Barbara, California.
 1899 Westaway, Engineer Rear-Admiral Albert Ernest Luscombe, 36, Granada Road, Southsea.
 1913 Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, U.S.A.
 1898 Westminster School, Dean's Yard, S.W.1.
 1913 White, James, Esq., Commission of Conservation, Ottawa.
 1914 White, John G., Williamson Building, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.
 1893 Whiteway, Richard Stephen, Esq., Brownscombe, Shottermill, Surrey.
 1910 Wihlfahrt, E., Esq.
 1914 Willard, A. F., Esq., Lloyd's Agency, Livingston, Guatemala.
 1899 Williams, O. W., Esq., Fort Stockton, Texas, U.S.A.
 1914 Williams, Sidney Herbert, Esq., 32, Warrior Square, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1895 Wisconsin, State Historical Society of, Madison, Wisc., U.S.A.
 1918 Wood, A. E., Esq., Secretariat for Chinese Affairs, Hongkong.
 1913 Wood, Henry A. Wise, Esq., 1, Madison Avenue, New York.
 1900 Woodford, Charles Morris, Esq., C.M.G., The Grinstead, Partridge Green, Sussex.
 1907 Woolf, Leonard Sidney, Esq.
 1899 Worcester, Massachusetts, Free Library, Worcester, Mass., U.S.A.
 1914 Wright, Dr. J. Farrall, 46, Derby Street, Bolton, Lancs.
 1913 Wright, R., Esq., The Poplars, Worsley Road, Swinton, Lancs.
 1847 Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
 1894 Young, Alfalfa, Esq., Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A.
 1847 Zürich, Stadtbibliothek, Zürich, Switzerland.

